

1697

Phaenomena quaedam Apocalyptica ad aspectum Novi Orbis configurata. Or, some few lines towards a description of the New Heaven (1697)

Samuel Sewall

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Samuel Sewall

*Phænomena quedam Apocalyptica ad aspectum
Novi Orbis configurata. Or, some few lines towards
a description of the New Heaven (1697)*

SAMUEL SEWALL (1652-1730) is best remembered as a colonial judge during the Salem Witchcraft trials, as a significant diarist, and as an ardent millenarian, who published a number of eschatological tracts on his favorite obsession. Born in Bishopstoke, England, young Samuel (age 9) came to New England in the train of his family and settled in Boston. He graduated from Harvard in 1671 and served as a tutor from 1673 until 1675. When he was made a freeman of the colony in 1679, Sewall launched his career in politics, first managing Massachusetts' printing press, then serving as a magistrate in the General Court, and later becoming a member of the Massachusetts Council. In 1688/89, he assisted Increase Mather's efforts in London to acquire a new charter for Massachusetts. Subsequently, Sewall served as councilor to the colony until 1725. During the infamous Salem Witchcraft episode (1691-93), Sewall was appointed a commissioner of oyer and terminer and in this capacity was involved in the execution of twenty victims. In 1697, following a number of tragedies in his family, Sewall publicly confessed his errors of judgment during the Witchcraft trials, asking God for pardon. From 1692 to the end of his life, he served in various capacities as justice of the superior court, as secretary and treasurer of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England (1699), and as chief justice of the superior court of Massachusetts (1718). He fathered fourteen children and married three times.

Apart from his political achievements in the colonial judicature, Sewall published a number of significant works. *The Selling of Joseph* (1700) is one of the earliest abolitionist documents in American history. His famous *Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729* (1878-82) is a Puritan document par excellence and a window on a

crucial period in the development of the colony. His millenarian tract *Proposals Touching the Accomplishment of Prophecies Humbly Offered* (1713) highlights Sewall's eschatological theories amplified in his earlier *Phænomena quedam Apocalyptica . . . Or, some few Lines towards a description of the New Heaven* (1697, second ed. 1727). Reprinted below (courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society), *Phænomena* is something of an exegetical conundrum that encapsulates the most significant eschatological theories of the day. Writing in defense of America's place in Christ's cosmography of the millennium, Sewall responds to Joseph Mede's legendary denigration of the New World as the location of Hell. More significantly, Sewall writes the equivalent of an American martyrology, advocates the conversion of the Indians as remnants of the Lost Tribes of Israel, and reaffirms America's future place in Christ's millennial kingdom, at a time when the Mathers and many of their colleagues looked toward Europe and the Holy Land for the fulfillment of their fondest hopes. Often misunderstood, *Phænomena* illustrates the intricate connection between prophetic exegesis and New England politics, between eschatological speculations and self-representation and policies toward the Indian populations of North America.

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Phænomena quædam
APOCALYPTICA

Ad Aspectum NOVI ORBIS configurata.

Or, some few Lines towards a description of the New

HEAVEN

As It makes to those who stand upon the

NEW EARTH

By *Samuel Sewall* sometime Fellow of *Harvard* Colledge at
Cambridge in *New-England*.

Psalm, 45. 10. *Forget also thy own people, and thy fathers house.*

Isai. 11. 14. *But they shall fly upon the shoulders of the Philistins toward the west.*

Act. 1. 6 -- 8. *Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom of Israel?*

----- *ye shall be witnesses unto me unto the uttermost parts of the earth;*

hafta lo ultimo de la tierra. Spanish Bible.

Luke, 15. 24. *For this My Son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found.* V. 32. *For this thy Brother &c.*

Ille non decrit Promissis; restituet Regnum *Israëli*; sed suo modo, loco, ac tempore. *Bullinger.* Nequis ista a me dicta, aut adducta accipiat, quasi contendendi, aut adverstandi studio; ac non discendi potius, ac conferendi gratia.

Fox Med. Apoc. p. 371. *ad Philiam Sextam.*

MASSACHUSET;

BOSTON, Printed by *Bartholomew Green, and John Allen,*
And are to be sold by *Richard Wilkins, 1697.*



TO THE HONORABLE,
Sir *WILLIAM ASHURST* Knight,
GOVERNOUR, and the COMPANY

For the Propagation of the GOSPEL to the Indians in New-England, and places adjacent, in AMERICA.

THE Commendation of *Erasmus*, in his Book entituled *Ecclesiastes*, doth very justly belong to the *English* Nation, upon account of their effectual Desires that the *Americans* might be gospelliz'd; *Pulcherrimum Deoque gratissimum erat dare potius quam accipere ijs quos studemus Christo lucrifacere: It was a most beautiful Thing, and most acceptable unto God, rather to give to them, than to receive from them whom we endeavour to gain for Christ.* And yet their Praises are to be sung in a higher Note: For I can't but think that either *England*, or *New-England*, or both (Together is best) is the only Bride Maid mentioned by Name in *David's* prophetical *Epithalamium*, to assist at the Great Wedding now shortly to be made. And for ought I know, this Noble Gift, Administred by your Hands, may be partly intended. Angels Incognito have sometimes made themselves guests to Men; designing thereby to surprise them with a Requital of their Love to Strangers. In like manner the *English* Nation, in shewing Kindness to the Aboriginal Natives of *America*, may possibly, shew Kindness to *Israelites* unawares. In the Year 1649. Mr. *Downam* gave his Conjecture to that purpose, in his Appendix to *New-English* Letters then printed. And Mr. *Thorowgood* was so far satisfied in his Opinion about it, that he published a Treatise in the Year 1650. entituled *Jews in America*. And it should seem, many judicious Divines have been much of the same mind. Mr. *Eliot* in his first Attempts to make them Christian, was much concern'd to find out some Promise in the Scriptures relating to them, upon which he might ground his Faith and Hope in his incessant Labours for them: But afterward he concluded that the Thirty seventh chapter of *Ezekiel* was written principally for their sake; as

Richard Eden
in his Epistle
to *P. Martyr's*
Decads of the
Ocean.

also many other Scriptures. In this Perswasion that worthy Person, both liv'd, and dy'd. On the other hand, if *America* be laid out as a Rendezvous for *Gog* and *Magog*, this must needs tend to supersede all Desire and Endeavour for their Recovery. But better Things are hoped concerning them, even such as will issue in their Salvation, when the fullness of Time is come. In stead of being branded for *Slaves* with hot Irons in the Face, and arms; and driven by scores in their mortal Chains: they shall wear the Name of God in their foreheads, and they shall be delivered into the glorious Liberty of the Children of God. The *Indians*, upon various Occasions, do much affect to be called by a *new* Name: which is given them by the Approbation of their Elders. Persons of note among them, that they may wash off their Mourning, and be clean; and that they may have a convenient Opportunity for publishing their New Name; sometimes call for a solemn Dance. Now tho their Miseries be very inveterate, yet GOD can speedily, and easily give them a *New Name*, and in a moment, change the Scene. *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe* have, each of them, had a glorious Gospel Day: None therefore will be grieved at any ones pleading that *America* may be made a *Coparcener* with her *Sisters* in the *Free*, and *Sovereign Grace* of God. God many times sets one thing against another: and we may hope that *Unparallel'd Severity* will be succeeded by *Superabundant BENIGNITY*. And when the *Messiah* shall have gathered his Sheep belonging to this his *American Fold*: His Churches Musick being then compleat in the Harmony of *Four Parts*: The whole Universe shall ring again with seraphick Acclamations, *ONE FLOCK! ONE SHEPHERD!*

That your Honour, and the Honourable Company, and all concerned with you, may be prospered by God in bringing forward this happy Match, is the constant Desire, and Prayer of

YOUR HONOURS
most humble Servant,

Boston, N. E.
April 16th.
1697.

S. SEWALL.



TO THE HONORABLE,
WILLIAM STOUGHTON Esq.
Lieut. Governour
AND
COMMANDER in Chief,
in and over His Majesties Province of the
Massachusetts Bay in *New-England*.

WHEN I look upon the Longing Desire, and Parental Pity that was raised in Divines, and Christians of all ranks; both in England, and here, upon the very first Appearance of the American Prodigal his coming to himself, and being disposed to return unto his Father: I cannot chuse but judge it to be very like to, if not the very same that is spoken of Luke, 15. 20. But when he was yet a great way off, his Father saw him, and had Compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him. For as all physical Actions are of a Divine Original: so the Actions of good and holy Men, are in a peculiar manner ascribed to God. A Relation entituled, The DAY-BREAKING, if not the SUN RISING of the GOSPEL with the INDIANS in New-England; which was printed at London, 1647. together with the following printed Relations, do give a very pleasant Prospect of this notable Transaction, from October, 28. 1646. unto July, 5. 1659. inclusively. The sorrowfull Decay and Languishing of the Work in many places since that time; and the little Faith that is now to be found in exercise concerning it: are so far from being a ground of Discouragement; that it gives us cause to expect that the set Time draweth very near for our blessed Lord Jesus Christ to be Recognised and Crowned KING of Kings, & LORD of Lords. And I humbly crave leave to enter a Claim; that the New-World may be no longer made an Outcast: but may be admitted to assist at the CORONATION. Perhaps some may think it superfluous, at this time of day to publish any thing against those Conjectures which, being groundless, fall of themselves. But on the other hand, when the Great KING was by his Ambassadors keeping up a Treaty of Marriage with America: it was then very Unseasonable and absurd to raise, or receive a Vain Report to her Disparagement. And it seemeth convenient, that that which

Non nos delectent siliquae porcorum, doctrinae demoniorum. August Psal. 138. col. 1589, 1592. Psal. 47. 436

Venienti occurrit, & nondum verbo uno audito, squalidum & Deformem amplectitur. Calvin p. 240.

Bullinger, Apoc. p. 258. Ipse solus vere diceretur Aphricanus, Europæus, Asiaticus, Columbinus &c.

Christus Quantum hoc Diadema hodie sibi vendicat. Antichristus Triplex gerit. Arct. p. 244.

bath been said and written, and printed over and over again, to the Injury and Prejudice of Columбина: should one time or other be Unsaid; that so the Scandal may be removed. And seeing the meer Conjectures of Learned and Great Men, do bear, a great sway with multitudes, who never enquire what the grounds are they go upon: it may seem a just Occasion for this small disquisition. In which I have endeavoured to prove that America's Name is to be seen fairly Recorded in the Scriptures; particularly, in the Book of Psalms, in Daniel, and the Revelation. That Euphrates may be distinguished from the Sea, and from other Rivers, it ought to be limited to some proper Place; for which place, I propound the New World: as being so far from deserving the Nick names of Gog and Magog; that it stands fair for being made the Seat of the Divine Metropolis. In this manner Jesus Christ will turn his back upon the pretended Vicar; untill He turn again, utterly to destroy him by the United Anger of the Seventh Vial. Another thing that seemeth probable to me, is, that the New-English Planters were the Fore-runners of the Kings of the East; and as the Morning Star, giving certain Intelligence that the Sun of Righteousness will quickly rise and Shine with Illustrious Grace and Favour, upon this despised Hemisphere. If some Accommodations seem novel and harsh at the first view; yet I suppose, I have Mr. Mede's Indulgence for the producing them: illud pro oculo habens, nisi in hisce talibus liberius paulo sentiendi, imo et errandi Venia concedatur; ad profunda illa et latentia Veritatis Adyta, viam nunquam patefactum iri. *Epist.* p. 539. As for Daniel, II. 45. It is Planting, and not Replanting, that is there spoken of. And the Plantations that I have ordinarily found assigned for the Accomplishment of this Prophecie, do not correspond with that which is implied in the word [Tabernacles, Tentoria] sc. mobilia, et brevi removenda.* That which may seem most of all out of Time, is the Fourth Seal, and so consequently, the Fifth. And yet Mr. George Giffard brings down his Examples of the Fulfilment of it as low as the Year, 1428. p. 133. And Aretius placeth the Parisian Massacre under the Fourth Seal. Mr. John Fox his Transition from the Fourth, to the Fifth Seal, is very remarkable; Meditat. in Apoc. p. 54, 55. Postquam de politicis Imperijs, et turbulentis eorum fatibus, arcana e Caelo Consilia patetacta audistis, in superioribus Sigillis quatuor: ventum est tandem ad Quintum Sigillum, Sextum, et Septimum. In quibus proprie de Regno Christi, de Ecclesia, Rebusque ad Ecclesiam pertinentibus, usque ad consummationem Seculi, mira nobis Mysteria aperiuntur. &c. Duo præcipue distincta Tempora proponuntur a Spiritu Sancto, &c. The sum is this great Field-Officer representeth the Martyrs under the form of Two Armies; the First is composed of the Martyrs engaged in the Ten First Persecutions, under the Roman Emperours: The Second was raised by JESUS CHRIST to maintain and defend his Dominion against the Invasions

Rev. 16. 9.

Mr. Thomas Parker, MSS p. 44.

In France, under Charles the Ninth, above Twenty Thousand Martyrs were slain in one moneth. Fox, Rev. p. 55.

of Antichrist, in a most Long, and Bloody War. This Army is likewise drawn up in Ten-Brigades; the Ninth being the English Martyrs of the Marian Persecution. And the innumerable Martyrs which were slain under Philip, in Spain and Flanders, make the Tenth. I hope the Reader wont stand with me for making the White Robes to be the frequent & Honorable Mention that is made of the Martyrs, & of their Doctrine, in Sermons, Martyrologies, and Acts of Parliament.* There are very fair & full Martyrologies in Latine, English, French, and Dutch. The Dutch Edition printed at Amsterdam, 1671. continueth the general History to the Year 1655. and gives an Account of the Unheard of Cruelty of Ireland, & the dreadful Massacres and Murthers of the Waldenses in Piemont, under the Duke of Savoy.* Of this there is a large Account given by Samuel Morland Esq; and of the Collection of 38000 l. in England & Ireland, to be distributed among the Remnant of that distressed People. He give but one particular Instance. Who is it hath not been affected by hearing mention made of the faithfull Servant of Jesus Christ, and Martyr of blessed Memory, Valiant and Loyal Lambert? Who, to the eternal glory of CHRIST; and in defiance of Antichrist's Halbert, and Chain, and Flame, Cried out None but CHRIST! None but CHRIST! Vol. 2. pag. 358.]

I knew not that the Conjecture was translated into English, untill I saw the second Edition, printed Anno 1650. the same Year that Mr. Thorowgood published his JEWS in America. Which forced me to follow my Latine Edition set forth 1664. The sheets being wrought off before I saw the other. And when all is done, if there be any hope that may bring on an Agreement, I willingly grant the Infernum mentioned Psal. 139. 15. To be America; where, in these latter Ages, GOD hath begun in a Terrible, and Wonderful Way, to form a People for Himself; that they may shew forth his Praise. Isai. 43. Rom. 9. 21. Deut. 30. 3, 4.*

May it please your Honour, Mr. Secretary Addington did rather encourage than discourage this Vindication of America; for whose Opinion your Honour hath justly a great Value. It was your Permission that opened my way into this Field: Permit me therefore, humbly to offer these First fruits to your Protection. Your standing Related to the Honourable Corporation mentioned in the former Epistle, seemeth to render this Dedication homogeneous. And as I know not a more severe and accurate Censor of what is amiss: so, no more quick and powerfull Defender of that which is Right. Neither could I contrive better, to design that in Two Epistles, which Mr. Richard Bernard hath perform'd in Five. For it is well known that you are a Friend of the BRIDE-GROOM, To whose HONOR I earnestly desire that all that I am & have, may be entirely and eternally dedicated.

*35 Edw 1 Anno 1392. 16 Rich 205; 24 H 8. 12; 25 H 8. 19, 20, 21; 1 Edw 6. 1, 2 and 3 c. 1, 21; 3 & 4 cap 10; 1 Elisa cap 2 & 13 cap 2 & 27 cap 2. 1655.

1641.

In Ireland, Octob 23. Above 200000. Innocent persons were murdered in one Moneth; & many, with exquisite, & Unheard of Tortures. Baker's Chronicle pag. 512.

* 1655



Pfalm, 139. 7–10.

From sight of thy all-seeing Spirit,
 Lord, whither shall I goe?
 Or wither shall I fly away,
 thy Presence to scape fro?
 To Heaven if I mount aloft,
 Loe Thou art present there:
 In Hell if I lie down below,
 even there Thou dost appear.

Dea, let me take the morning wings,
 and let me goe and hide:
 Even there where are the farthest parts,
 where flowing Sea doth slide.
 Dea even thither also shall
 thy reaching Hand me guide:
 And thy Right hand shall hold me fast,
 and make me to abide.

In Enarratione hujus *Psalmi*, col. 1593. *Nemo trepidet: sed nemo de Pennis suis presumat. Opus est ut habeamus pennas; & Opus est ut Ipse deducat. Adjutor enim noster est.* Affirmat

AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS.



SOME FEW LINES

Towards a description of the

NEW HEAVEN

NOT to begin to be; and so not to be limited by the concerns of *Time* and *Place*; is the Prerogative of *GOD* alone. But as it is the Privilege of Creatures, that *GOD* has given them a beginning: so to deny their *actions*, or *them*, the respect they bear to *Place*, and *successive duration*, is, under a pretence of Promotion, to take away their very Being. Yet notwithstanding, some Things have had this to glory of; that they have been time out of mind; and their Continuance refuses to be measured by the memory of Man. Whereas *New-England*, and *Boston* of the *Massachusetts* have this to make mention of; that they can tell their Age; and account it their Honour to have their Birth, and Parentage kept in everlasting Remembrance. And in very deed, the Families, and Churches which first ventured to follow Christ thorow the *Atlantick* Ocean, into a strange Land, full of wild men, were so Religious; their End so Holy; their Selfdenial in pursuing of it, so Extraordinary; that I can't but hope that the Plantation has thereby gained a very strong Crasis; and that it will not be of one or two, or three Centuries only; but very long lasting. Some who peremptorily conclude that *Asia* must afford situation for *New-Jerusalem*, are of the mind, when that divine City comes to be built, the Commodities of It will be so inviting as will drain disconsolate *America* of all Its Christian Inhabitants, as not able to brook so remote a distance from the beloved City. But if *Asia* should be again thus highly favored, and the eldest daughter be still made the darling; yet 'tis known there will be a River, *the Streams whereof shall make glad the City of God*. The Correspondence, and Commerce of the little cities, and villages in the three Kingdoms, and Plantations, do make LONDON glad.

And so it will be with *New-Jerusalem: the Nations of them which are saved, shall walk in the light of it: and the Kings of the Earth do bring their glory and honour into it.* New-Jerusalem will not straiten, and enfeeble; but wonderfully dilate, and invigorate Christianity in the several Quarters of the World; in *Asia*, in *Africa*, in *Europe*, and in *America*. And one that has been born, or but liv'd in *America*, between thirty, and forty years; it may be pardonable for him to ask, Why may not that be the place of New-Jerusalem? Problematical Questions do circulate; and this was set up by Dr. *Twisse* above threescore years ago; the newness of it in its return after so considerable a space of time, will, I hope, render it gratefull, or at least, will procure leave for one, with a little alteration, to enquire, Why may not *New-Spain* be the place of *New-Jerusalem*? Its being part of the New World, one would think, carries with it no contradiction thereunto. Places are usually called new from the newness of their situation; and not from their being built anew; as *New-Spain*, *New-England*, *New-London*. For certain, If Mr. *Eliot*'s Opinion prove true; viz. that the aboriginal Natives of *America* are of *Jacob*'s Posterity, part of the long since captivated Ten Tribes; and that their Brethren the *Jews* shall come unto them: the dispute will quickly be at an end. *Manasseh-Ben-Israel* is said to have published a book entituled, *The hope of Israel*, endeavouring to prove this Position. For my own part, what Mr. *Downam*, and Mr. *Thorowgood* have written on this head, seems to be of far more weight with me than what *Hornius*, or any other that I have seen, have guess'd to the contrary. Mr. *Eliot* was want to say The *New-English* Churches are a preface to the New Heavens: and if so, I hope the preface and Book will be bound up together, and this *Mexican* Continent shall comprehend them both. Who can tell, but that *David* may thus fetch a compass behind his Antichristian enemies and come upon them over against the *Mulberry* trees, and utterly destroy them by the brightness of his coming? Who can tell, but that Christ may in this matter expose the lewd fondness of the Unholy War, and happily umpire the Difference about the holiness of Places by causing New-Jerusalem to come down from God out of Heaven, upon that Earth wherein Satan, for many Ages, has peaceably possessed an entire, and far more large

Mede, Epist. 42,
p. 979.

empire than any where else in the whole world besides? No body doubts but that our Saviour *can* enter into this strong man's house, bind him, and spoil his goods: Let us wait till He revive us by saying, I am *willing*. If I mistake not we have a warrant sufficient enough to encourage us unto a perseverance in hoping, and waiting upon God for this Salvation.

Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the Uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.

Of all the parts of the world, which do from this Charter, entitle themselves to the Government of Christ, *America*'s plea, in my opinion, is the strongest. For when once *Christopher Columbus* had added this *fourth* to the other *three* parts of the foreknown World; they who sailed farther Westward, arriv'd but where they had been before. The globe now failed of offering any thing New to the adventurous Travailer: Or however, it could not afford another new World. And probably, the consideration of *America*'s being *the Beginning of the East, and the End of the West*, was that which moved *Columbus* to call some part of it by the Name of *Alpha* and *Omega*. Now if the *Last ADAM* did give Order for the engraving of his own Name upon this *last Earth*: 'twill draw with it great Consequences; even such as will, in time, bring the poor *Americans* out of their Graves, and make them live.

Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron, thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potters vessel.

'Twas most awfull to see, or but to hear of Christ's *Spanish-Iron* Rod walking amongst the earthen pots; whereby great Kingdoms, and Empires were quickly broken to shivers, with many millions of their subjects; unto whom both defensive, & offensive Iron was unknown, which made the deadly impressions of their Enemies weapons, and the inefficacy of their own, surprising to amazement. It is to be noted, that the Pots wherein they boiled their fish, and flesh, &c. were made of earth; as also innumerable other vessels: most were enjoind to use no other. By this means the Potters trade was in principal demand among them: which renders this Metaphor very agreeable. In the computation of Time made by the *Mexican* Nation, their greatest Period consisted of Fifty two Years; which they call'd a *Wheel*. Upon the last night of every Wheel they used to break all their Vessels, and stuff; and put out their fire,

Peter Martyr
Decad. I. lib. 3.
p. 13.

saying that the World should end at the finishing of one of these Wheels, and it might be at that time. Upon this conceit they passed the night in great fear, and watched very carefully for the day. But when they saw the day begin to break, they presently beat many Drums, sounded Cornets, Flutes, and other Instruments of Joy, saying, that God did yet prolong the time with another Age. And then began another Wheel, on the first day whereof they went to the high priest and took new fire, and bought new Vessels. *Joseph Acosta*, lib. 6. cap. 2. When the *Spaniards* came, they took these miserable Potters themselves, and dash'd them in pieces one against another. Holy *Hilary*, in his Exposition of the second Psalm, is exceedingly concerned, lest there should be any imputation of Ingratitude to our LORD, upon the account of his seising upon his Inheritance in such a manner, as presently to break it in pieces with an iron Rod. But he quiets himself in this; that it is in order to Restauration, and Reformation.

Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, &c.

They who will not take warning by *Belsazzar*, and *Montezuma*, and will not learn, in all their Administrations, to glorifie the God in whose hand their breath is, and whose are all their ways; they must expect to come to worse ends than they did. Great *Montezuma*, who laboured to be worshiped as a god. No plebeian might look him in the face; if he did, he was punished with death. He did never set his foot on the ground; but was always carried on the shoulders of Noblemen; and if he lighted, they laid rich Tapestry whereon he might go. When he made any Voyage, he and the Noblemen went as it were in a Park compassed in for the nonce; and the rest of the people went without the Park. He never put on a Garment twice; nor did eat, or drink in one Vessel, or Dish above once; all must be new. He used to be attended by Noblemen barefoot. This *Montezuma*, of whose bloody Pride, and Luxury he knew no bounds; was at last imprisoned in his own Palace by his unwelcom Guests; was hated by his subjects; covertly and basely slain; so that tis yet controverted, whether *Spaniards*, or *Indians* were the

authors of his death. *But howsoever, Montezuma died miserably, and paid his deserts to the just judgment of our Lord of heaven, for his Pride, and Tyranny: His body falling into the Indians power, they would make him no Obsequies of a King; no not of an ordinary person: but cast it away in great disdain, and rage. A servant of his having pity of this king's misery, made a fire thereof, & put the ashes in a contemptible place.* *Acosta*, lib. 7. cap. 22, 26.

Some judicious and learned Divines have conjectured that *America* is prophesied of in the thirty seventh of *Ezekiel*, under the denomination of a Valley. Certainly, no part of the habitable World, can shew more *Bones*; or bones more *dry*, than these vast Regions do. Mr. *Downam* thinks that Mr. *Eliot's* taking his Text from thence when he first preached to the *Indians*, has its weight. His Appendix to the Letters from *New-England*, is well worth the reading. The Prophet is said to be carried out in the spirit: and for ought I know, he might be carried beyond the limits of the then known World.

Dan. II. 45. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace between the seas in the glorious holy Mountain; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.

The complexion of this portion of Scripture is such, as constrains me to imagin, that the place designed by the Holy Spirit, is no other than *America*. Every word almost, has an emphasis carrying in it, to me, the perswasion of this sence. They who remove from one Land to another, there to dwell; that settlement of theirs is call'd a Plantation. Especially, when a Land, before rude and unfurnish'd, is by the New-comers replenished with usefull Arts, Vegetables, Animals. Thus when in the year 1492. *Christopher Columbus* had opened the way, the *Spaniards* planted themselves in the spacious Regions of *America*; and, too much, planted Antichristianisme in the room of Heathenisme. *Tabernacles*] So called from the movableness of their condition, and shortness of their continuance. As Tents, they were lately set up; and, notwithstanding all their Præmunitions, so far as they are *Antichristian*, they shall be taken down before it be long, by the immovable Counsel and Providence of God.

Palace] The Extent, Riches, and Pomp of the *Mexican*, and *Peruvian* Empires, are very great: Insomuch that when the Church of *Rome* met with Losses in *Europe*, they pleased themselves with their Gains in the *New-World*. They glory in the many Churches they have planted there; which are, they say, without all mixture of Hereticks. If with Mr. *Nicholas Fuller*, Miscel. Sacr. Lib. 5. Cap. 18. we take this word to signifie *Equile Regium*, Horse-Guards; It will still look upon *America*. The Reputation the *Spaniards* Horses gave them, did much contribute towards their prodigious Conquests. And after above threescore dangerous battels, *Mexico* was at last taken upon *Hippolytus* day; *August*, 13, 1521. Since which time, Horses, that were never seen there before, are one of the four Fair Things of that Citie.

Between the Seas] the middle Provinces of the New World, governed by the Vice Roys of *Mexico*, and *Peru*, are known to lye between two of the most wide, and famous Seas of the whole World. The *American* Isthmus; respecting its own narrowness, and the bold approaches of the huge Ocean on either side, does command the title of *Nonsuch*. *America* it self, and they who pass thether, are so much concern'd with the Sea, that *Peter Martyr* stiled his History, *Decads of the Ocean*. And in the general History of *Spain*, part of the King's Tide is, *The Islands, and firm Land of the Ocean Sea*. Grimeston, p. 1234. in the glorious holy Mountain] Ingenious *Joseph Acosta* lib. 3. cap. 19. speaking of *New-Spain*, hath these words, *Which without doubt, is the best Province the Sun doth circle*. And Mr. *Gage*, in his faithfull Relations, cap. 12. p. 134. speaks of its Excellency in this manner, "There is nothing in *Mexico*, and about it, wanting which may make a City happy. And "certainly, had those that have so much extolled with their pens the parts of *Granada* in *Spain*, "*Lombardy*, and *Florence*, in *Italy*, making them the earthly Paradise; had they been acquainted with "the New World, and with *Mexico*, they would have recanted their untruths. O that the Lord were "truly worshipped where He hath poured forth the Treasures of his Goodness for the children of "men! O that in that *Eden*, the tempting and enticing Serpent were not so much obeyed in the use of "the fair seeming apple of Pleasures; and the LORD that hath enriched it with such Varieties, so "much neglected! The

*Bellarmin de
notis Ecclesie,
ad Notam Quar-
tam, & Nonam.*

1521

difficulty attending this construction, lyes in the word [*holy*] which may be intended by way of Anticipation. What place more infamous for Unholiness than *Canaan*? and yet it is said *Exod.* 15. 13, 17. *Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people which thou hast redeemed: thou hast guided them in thy strength unto thy Holy habitation. Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thy inheritance, in the place, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in: in the Sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established.*

Neither is this altogether dissonant from excellent *Calvin's* Commentary. For that which remains of the *Roman* grandeur, is shared between the Emperour of *Germany*, and the Pope: and they both contributed towards the planting these Tabernacles. Pope *Alexander* the sixth (that horrible Monster) by his Bull or Donation dated 1493. *Quarto Nonas Maij*, and *Charles* the fifth, by his Expence, and Royal Authority. They also that do govern in *America*, are not Kings, but Vice Roys, answerable to *Calvin's* Proconsuls. And 'tis not *Mexico*, and *Lima*, but *Madrid*, and *Rome*, that are the original, and principal Seats of the Government. Take a Specimen of Antichrists inevitable coming to his End, in the death of *Roderick Borgia*, afterward Pope *Alexander* the sixth; taken almost word for word, out of *Onuphrius* in the Life of that Pope, and out of *Guicciardin*, lib. 5. p. 235, 236. It is most certain, saith he, that in his father and in him; *Cæsar Borgia* Duke *Valentinois*, were natural customs to use Poison; not only to be revengd of their Enemies, or to be assured of Suspicions: but also upon a wicked Covetousness, to dispoil Rich Men of their Goods: whether they were Cardinals, or Courtiers; altho they had never don them wrong; as happened to the Cardinal St. *Ange*, who was very Rich. This manner of Rage they would use also against their greatest Friends and Familiars, and such as had been their most faithfull servants; such as were the Cardinals of *Capua*, and *Modeno*: a Recompence unworthy the merits of good men; and not disagreeable to the disposition of such a Father, and son; whereof the one made all things lawfull by vile Dispensation: and with the other, nothing was dishonest wherein was Opportunity to his purposes. Upon the 17th of *August*, anno 1503. a Banquet of Wine was made in the Arbour of the *Vatican* [*ad umbrosum Vaticanæ ruris fon-*

tem] for the poisoning of *Adrian* Cardinal of *Cornette*, or of some of the Richest Senators, as *Onuphrius* has it. *Valentynois* sent before, certain flagons with Wine infected with Poison; which he gave to a servant that knew nothing of the matter, commanding that no person should touch them. The Pope coming by adventure, somewhat before the Supper, and overcome with the Drought, and immoderate heat of the time, call'd for drink: and because his own provision was not yet brought from the Palace, he that had the infected Wine in charge, thinking it to be commended to his keeping for a wine most excellent, gave the Pope to drink of the same wine which *Valentynois* had sent: who arriving whilest his father was drinking, drank also of the same wine; being but just, that they both should taste of the same Cup, which they had brewed for the destruction of others. *Valentinois*, by the vigour and strength of his Youth, and ready Help of strong Medicines, and Counterpoisons, had his Life saved; remaining notwithstanding oppressed with a long and grievous Sickness. But his father the Pope being aged, and unable long to endure the strength of the poison, died the next day, *Aug. 18th* in the *Vatican* at *Rome*, in the *71th* year of his Age, and the eighth day of the twelfth Year of his Popedom. The Corps was borne into the Church of *St. Peter*, black, swolne, and most deformed. All the Town of *Rome* ran with great gladness to *St. Peters*, about the dead body of the Pope, their eyes not being satisfied to see dead & destroyd a Serpent, who with his immoderat Ambition, & poisoned Infidelity, together with all the horrible Examples of Cruelty, Luxury, and monstrous Covetousness; selling without distinction, both holy things and profane things, had infected the whole World. Thus far *Guicciardin* in that place. In the Death of this *Planter* God hath given Earnest, assuring us that He will in the fittest Season, utterly root up the whole papal *Plantation*, so as none shall be able to *Help* them.

The cognation that there is between this Propheisie, and that of the *Revelation*, is so great, as occasioned *Mede* to answer, I conceive *Daniel* to be *Apocalypsis contracta*: p. 964. It will not therefore be incongruous to pass immediatly thether, without any other Transition.

Rev. 6. 8. *And I looked, and behold, a pale horse; and his name that sat on him was Death, and hell followed with him:*

and power was given to them over the Fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.

The Four Quarters of the World seem to be represented by Four Animals; *Asia* by the Lion; *Africa*, by the Calf; *Europe*, by the Man, and *America*, by the Eagle. Accordingly, the four first Seals seem to be *Local*; each of them chiefly, or firstly regarding what was to be done in some One Quarter of the World. So that *Asia* was to be the principal stage of the First Seals; *Africa*, of the Second; *Europe*, of the third, and *America*, of the Fourth. *America* is fitly represented by an Eagle, which Royal Bird is very frequent there, and was once the Standard of the *Mexican* Empire; the unparalleled Miseries whereof, and of the New World are here described. And there is no Verse in the whole Bible doth so pathetically, and with so much Amplitude, and Variety foretell the Destruction of Men: So wide, and deep the Measure needed to be, that was to contain the Blood, and Slaughter of *America*! If there may be any accommodation in that, the Colour* of this Horse is much like the Colour of the *Indians*. And altho it seem an oddity in *Bezad's* Translation set forth *Anno 1556*. to make the Rider *feminine*, yet it may serve to put one in mind that this tragical Scene was first opened by the Magnanimous, and Modest *Isabella* Queen of *Castile*. From the death of this gracious Queen, which fell out *Anno 1504*. the *American* Destructions are observed to bear Date.

Hell followed &c.] This is added by way of horrid Aggravation, being a most dismal Exemplification of that Proverb, *Where there is no Vision, the people perish*. Dr. *Fulk* in his *Prelections* published 1573. speaks thus, *Sequitur autem mortem Infernus, ne Corporum tantum hæc lues esse censeatur: sed quam aeterna Animæ mors, & tormenta Inferni consequantur. Et corporis quidem mortem Infernus semper sequitur, nisi in ijs solum quibus morte Christi retusus est aculeus mortis*. Mr. *Arthur Dent*, *Anno. 1603*. "For assuredly, Hell doth always follow the death of the body, "excepting those only whom Christ hath delivered from Hell and Damnation, by the power of his "Death. *All these perished without Faith, and without Sacraments*, in the dolefull *Epiphonema* which *Bartholomew de las Casas* often makes, where he gives an ac-

Stephanus, Aretius, Pareus.

count of Twenty Millions Slain, Destroyd, and sent to Hell by *Spanish* Cruelties. The Grave has nothing to do here. Multitudes of the slaughtered *Indians* had no other Grave than the Bellies of Men, *Spanish* Dogs, and wild Beasts. In several places of this very Province, about the Year 1618. there was such a Plague among the Natives, that the living were not able to bury the dead; by which means the ground became strawed with their Bones.

Fourth part] it is the *Field*, and not the *Proportion of the slain*, that is here design'd: the Jurisdiction of the Destroyers is delineated in those words, *Upon the Fourth part of the Earth*, i.e. Upon, or over *America*. What ever Variation there may be in reckoning the other parts of the World; yet *America* always obtains the *Fourth* place, as not only last, but very lately discovered to the rest. The Quaternion of Evils here specified, are notoriously known to have Ranged over this Earth. Dr. *Whitaker* affirms that no Histories make mention of so great Tyranny, as the *Spaniards* exercised over the *Indians*. *De notis Ecclesie*, p. 505. And *Amandus Polanus* in his Commentary upon *Daniel*, doth very largely, and pathetically describe this Desolating Abomination. *Vide cap. II. 31. p. 1067, 68, 69, 70.* Neither need one salve the last Instance by a Metaphor: the *Indians*, to shun the *Spaniards*, fled from their delightful habitations by the Seaside, and betook themselves to the mountainous Deserts, where the *Tigers* met with them, and devourd them. And the *Spanish* Dogs killd, and eat Multitudes of them: which might help to sharpen Mr. *Mede's* Pen, and cause him to say, Christ our Lord sends his Mastives, the *Spaniards*, to hunt them out, and worry them: which they did in so hideous a manner, as the like thereunto scarce ever was done, since the Sons of *Noah* came out of the Ark. *Epist. 43.*

The following Seal did for many Years, seem to make against the forementioned Applications, as altogether out of Time: But within these few Months, It seemd rather to offer Arguments for them. For the Prophesie doth not say when the Martyrs were *slain*, but when they were *seen*. Now if the Fifth Seal be concluded with the Year 311, or 325. the *Antichristian* Persecution, the longest, and most grievous of all, will be wholly excluded. Whereas *John* was so posted, as that he might look backward all along to the beginning;

Scarce One in twenty left alive.
N. Engl. Memorial. p. 23.

Besides their own bloody Massacres, Wars, Sacrifices.

and forward all along, to the end of Martyrdom. The eleventh verse also seems to intimate that, measuring from this Moment, much more of the time of Persecution was past, than was now to come: *Yet for a little season*, may be understood in Comparison with what was already past. Upon the whole, I humbly crave leave to offer, whether the Year 1572, or 1573. may not be the Article of Time intended for this Prospect? Upon the supposition that Four of the Seals are Local, twas most orderly and methodical to place them all together; tho some passages of the Fifth might have an earlier commencement, than some of them. The Four Parts of the World are as so many Colledges rounded, & endowed for the setting forth of the Glory of God. Christ had bespoke Witnesses in every one of them; and therefore *New-Colledge* also is first mentioned, before the Fifth Seal bring in the whole University of Martyrs. *under the altar*] It is to be noted, that in the Year 1554. the Sacrament of the *Altar* began to kindle Fires upon the *English* Altars: and there Christ in his Members, was by Authority, Tried, Condemned, and publicly crucified, to a degree scarce equalled in any other Nation. The Excellency and Preciousness of so many Voluntary Whole-burnt-Offerings, made the Pillars of Smoke, and Fire to ascend on high, and to be taken notice of all the World over. And Mr. *Fox* prepared such a golden Oyl to feed those Flames; that they still do, and always will mount up, *in perpetuam Res memoriam*. The *London* Fashion was not approv'd of at *Paris*; neither, indeed, could it be follow'd: besides that so long and tedious a Process was a thing of too slow and dull a temper for that Climate. *Bartholomæus de las Casas* writ in the Year 1542. fearing lest he should incur guilt in concealing the Loss of an infinite number, both of Souls and Bodies. *Polanus* saith, his Book was printed in *Spanish*, at *Sevil*, *apud Sebastianum Trugillium*, Anno 1552. He did with such irresistible Importunity represent the Outrages committed in the New World, as prevaild with the Emperour to send over Commissioners on purpose to See whether it was so, or no; and upon their Report, took a better Order, both for their temporal, and spiritual Estate: notwithstanding a strong Interest made against said *Casas* in the Court of *Spain*. 'Tis possible, these extraordinary Efforts; both in Speaking, Writing, and Printing may

1572

be signified by a more express attribution of a Voice to the Fourth Animal. In the Year 1572. *Paris* it self, and the Prisons in *Lions*, and over the Kingdom, were made the King's Slaughter-Houses. They of the Reformd Religion were commanded thither, under a pretence of keeping them out of Harms way: And there within the Courts of the Prisons, the Butchers Ax and Knife, and Streams of Blood too, as much as might be, were kept out of sight of the common people; for fear lest Humanity should have got the upper hand, and Roman-Catholicks should have rescud their Neighbours of the Reformation, from that monstrous Excess of Barbarity. At *Lions*, the publick Executioner, and the Garrison Souldiers innobled themselves by refusing to kill these Sheep thus brought into the Butchers Pen; tho commanded by the Governour. As *Saul's* Guard of old, so their Unfading Honour shall never be in danger of being out of *Mind*, by being out of *Sight*, so long as any Compositors and Pressmen shall be left alive. In this Massacre, the Place and Means of the Trepan, were so Eminent; the Nobility, Number, Worth of the Martyrs slain, so very Extraordinary, that the Cry thereof went up to Heaven, and the Noise of it made the whole Earth to Ring again. *Polanus*, to the date of his Epistle before his Exposition on *Daniel*, subjoins this Chronogram, composd in Remembrance of the Admiral, and of his Honourable Company of Martyrs; the numeral Letters whereof make 1572. in which Year, *August*, 24. being the Lord's Day, this Bloody Massacre was begun:

BARTHOLOMÆUS FLEET, QVA GALLICAS
OCCUBAT ATLAS.

The next Year, a Fair Account of this Foul Tragœdy, came forth in Print, bearing this Title.

DE FURORIBUS Gallicis, horrenda & indigna Amiralij Castellionei, Nobilium atq; illustrium virorum cæde, scelerata ac inaudita piorum strage passim edita per complures Gallia civitates, sine ullo discrimine generis, sexus, ætatis & conditionis hominum: *Vera & simplex Narratio.* ERNESTO VARAMUNDO FRISIO AUCTORE. Vis consili expers mole ruit sua. LONDINI, Ex officina Henrici Bynneman. 1573.

This History brings to mind Three *American* Martyrs, whose Love to our Lord Jesus Christ appeard to be of Proof, whenas many Waters could not quench It, neither could the Floods drown It. In the Year 1555. *Nicholas Durandus Villagagnon*, a Knight of *Jerusalem*, one who had been employd in great Business, a Learned, and able Man. He out of an eager desire to get Riches, and Honour; did by the mediation of *Gasper Colligny* the Admiral forementioned, obtain a Licence of the King to set forth a Fleet, and carry the *French* Ensigns into the New World. Upon the 13th of *November*, he arrived at the capacious Harbour, which by the *Portugals* is called *Januarius*, being in about 23. degrees of Southern Latitude. The Fortress erected there, he called *Colligni*; and that he might the more curry favour with the Admiral, he confirmd the hopes he had given that it was a convenient place for propagating the pure Religion; and petitioned that with his good leave he might send for some Divines from *Geneva*. And to that purpose, the next Year he writ to *Calvin*, who communicated it to the Elders; and after Consultation upon the matter, two were chosen out of them; *viz.* *Petrus Richerius*, of fifty; and *Gulielmus Quadrigarius*, of thirty years of Age; who at the Request of *Villagagnon*, and *Colligny*, undertook the Voyage. To these many adjoined themselves; and among them was *Joannes Leri*. *Philippus Corquillerius* had the Conduct of the whole Company committed to him: He betook himself to *Geneva* for the sake of Religion, and was known to *Colligny*, by whose Letters he was solicited to engage in this Affair, tending so much to the glory of God. At their Arrival in *America*, they were received with expressions of great Joy; and quickly after, their Church was formed according to the Constitution, and Usage of *Geneva*; *Villagagnon* going before them therein, and promising to submit thereunto. About the 20th of *March*, the Lord's Supper was administred, *Villagagnon* himself being present. Afterward Controversies prevailed among them by means of *John Cointac* a student of *Sorbonne*, who out of a fond concept of his own Learning, was ambitious of a Superintendency over the other Ministers. He was of ill manners, and such a friend to Antichristian Non-Residency, as not to be asham'd to hold a Benefice in

*Thuanus lib. 16.
p. 500, 501.*

France at the same time that he was such a stickler at *Bra-sil*. He moved that Sacerdotal Garments might be provided, the Vessels consecrated, Bread unleavened, and the Wine mingled with Water, and the like. *Richers* in his Sermon, inveighed against these humane Inventions and those that sought to introduce them; at which *Villagagnon* was very angry, and silenced him: and, as is believed, being advis'd by a Letter from the Cardinal of *Lorain*, evil intreated the *Geneva* Ministers, and wearied them out, and their Company; who with much ado, through innumerable dangers, and almost starvd, at last got to *France*. They were about 18, or 20. Leagues at Sea, when they sprung a Leak; and the most part of their Bread as damnified with the salt water: and they could hardly free the Ship by pumping. Whereupon, lest they should want provisions for so long a Voyage, the Captain gave way to the desire of five of the Passengers, to return ashore in the Boat: which their Company regretted, for fear *Villagagnon* should do them a displeasure. But they reckoned themselves safe, having not given him cause of Offence; but Obligation. And so with much grief on both sides they took Leave; commending each other to the Keeping of God. Now being unprovided of Mast, Sail, and all manner of Tackling for the Boat; and of Skill to manage it: twas with infinite difficulty and hazard, that they recovered the Land, and afterward, the Island and Fortress of *Colligny*. They speedily presented themselves to *Villagagnon*, and acquainted him with the Danger occasioning their Return: and prayd his Favour; forasmuch as they chose to dwell with their Countrymen; and not with *Portugals*, or *Indians*. and had left their Wives and Children to serve him in this remote Land; which they were ready to do to the uttermost of their power, untill they might have opportunity of returning to *France*. The Governour spake them fair; praised God for their Deliverance: and said, that tho they left him upon discontent, and were now fallen into his power; yet he would leave Vengeance to God, and by no means deny them Entertainment. However, he refused to let them make the beast of their boat, to buy Necessaries for recovery of their impaired health. And within a while, was filld with Jealousies, lest all they had said was feigned; and that *Corquillerius* called *du Pont*, *Richer* and Company, with the help of those gone to

the River of *Plate*, upon notice given, would in one night surprise the Fort, and destroy him and his. Whether these Fears were real or pretended; he came to a resolution to take them off as *Traitors*: But not finding how to make that Charge probable, he pitchd upon *Religion*, and drew up Articles for them to answer, as thinking such Sacrifices would be very pleasing to the Court. The *French* of the Continent perswaded them not to give an account of their Faith to this Apostat Tyrant: but that they should rather hide themselves among the *Portugals*, or *Indians*. But they were of Opinion that God calld them to bear witness for Him, and accordingly, *John Bordel*, who exceeded the rest in Learning and Grace, as well as in Age, drew up in writing a Confession of Faith, containing an Answer to the Articles. This they all read often, and distinctly weighed each Article; and then all signd it. It begins thus: *According to the Doctrine of St. Peter the Apostle, in his first Epistle; all Christians ought always to be ready to give an account of the Hope that is in them, &c.*

The Conclusion of their Confession is in these words, *This is the Answer which we have made to the Articles sent by you, according to the measure and portion of Faith which God hath given us. Let Him be pleased to cause that it may not dye in us; but may produce fruits worthy of his Children. He giving us Perseverance in the same, we will ascribe Praise and Thanks unto Him to all Eternity. Amen.*

JEAN du BORDEL.
MATTHIEU VERMEIL.
PIERRE BOURDON.
ANDRE la FON.

When their Orthodox Confession was sent to *Villagagnon*, he declared them Hereticks upon the Articles relating to the sacrament of the *Alter*, and Vows; and said twas unlawfull for them to live any longer, lest the Company should be infected with their Poison. Yet his resolution to put them to death, he kept as privat as he could, till *Friday*, the 9th of *February*, 1558. on which day he orderd them to be brought from the Continent. Their friends with tears disswaded them from going to their slaughter. But they considering that God might have brought them into those parts,

and preserved them in millions of dangers for this end; could not find in their hearts to desert the Cause of their dear Lord Jesus: So *John Bordel*, *Matthew Vermeil*, and *Andrew la Fon* went into the boat: But *Peter Bourdon* was left behind very sick. Being come to the Island, *Villagagnon* commanded that they should be brought before him, who holding their Confession of Faith in his hand, asked if they made and signed it. They answered that they made it and signed it, every one owning his Hand; and seeing it was according to the Confession of the holy Apostles and Martyrs of the primitive Church, they were resolved, by the Grace of God, to maintain it. Their words were scarce out, before *Villagagnon* discovered a furious countenance, threatening to put them to death, if they continued in their damnable Opinion. And presently commanded his Executioner to put Irons on their Legs; and to every Chain to hang fifty, or sixty pound weight: and orderd them to be shut up in a nasty dark Prison, and set a Guard of armed men upon them. They comforted one another in Prayer & singing of Psalms. All the Company of the Island was very much troubled at this action, and secretly comforted the Prisoners, and gave them provisions which they stood in need of. The next day in the morning, he went well armd, with a page, into a little Hall, whither he sent for *John Bordel* in his Irons; of whom he demanded an explanation of the article of the Sacrament, He confessed that the Bread and Wine were Signs of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, confirming it by the saying of St. *Augustin*. *Villag* in a great passion, gave him a blow on the face with his fist; whereupon much blood flowed from his nose and mouth. To the blow he added words agreeable; *You have lyed, Villain, St. Austin never said so: Before I eat, I will reward the fruits of your Obstinacy*. As some tears fell with the blood, *Vil*. upbraided him, calling him a puny fresh-water souldier, that would cry for a fillip! Then he asked him if he would maintain, what he had writ and signed. *Bordel* answered, Yes, untill by Authority of the holy Scriptures I am otherwise taught. *V*. seeing the steadfastness of the man, commanded his Executioner to bind him, and carry him to a Rock which the water covered twice a day, three foot. He and his page being armd, attended the poor Sufferer to the place appointed. *Bordel* passing by the

prison where his companions were, cried out to them, with a loud Voice, *Be of good Courage, you will quickly be delivered from this miserable life*. As he went along, he sung Psalms, to the astonishment of bloody *V*. and his Executioner. Being upon the Rock, twas with much adoe that he got leave to commend himself to God in prayer, before he went out of the world. The Executioner being too slow for furious *V*. he threatend him with a cat of nine tails, if he did not make haste: therefore he immediately threw him into the Sea, where he rendred to God his Spirit, calling upon the Name of our Lord Jesus till he was drown'd.

Matthew Vermeil was brought next, being greatly astonished at the death of his companion, he pleaded with *V*. for his life with such Expostulations, Have we robbed you, or evilly entreated the least of your servants? Have we plotted your death, or done any thing to your dishonour? No Villain! said he; you and your companions dye for no such things as these; But because you are a most dangerous Pest to be separated from the Church, lest you spoil the rest of my company. The Martyr answered, Eight moneths are not passed since you have made an ample confession of the Points for which you make us dye this day. Afterward he petitioned him again for his life, offering to become his servant. *V*. said he had nothing for him to do: but he would think of it, if he would recant his Error. *Vermeil* seeing no hope given him, but what was destructive to his Salvation, became thereby resolv'd in his mind, and Cried out with a loud Voice, *I had rather dye, to live eternally with the LORD: than to live a little while, and dye for ever with Satan*. After he had made this Prayer upon the Rock, and commended his Soul to the Care of God, he freely delivered himself into the hands of the Executioner; and Crying out with a loud Voice, *Lord Jesus! have mercy on me!* He gave up the ghost. *Andrew la Fon* had not strength enough to climb up into this Rock of Martyrdom: but by Promises & Threatenings, was drawn to some degree of Recantation: Or else was favoured by *Villagagnon* for the sake of his Trade of a Tailor, which was very necessary. And so his life was spared.

But the bloody Sacrifice of *Vil*. is not yet ended: One Victim remains; *viz. Peter Bourdon*, who was left very sick on the Continent. *Villagagnon* went himself thither, took

one ashoar with him. His first salutation to the poor sick man was that he must get up, and go into the boat; *Bourdon* would have excused himself, from his inability to do him any service by reason of sickness. *Villagagnon* told him, this was to cure him. The poor man not being able to stand, much less go; he caused him to be carried aboard. *Villagagnon* asked whether he would stand to the Confession he had sign'd. He answered, he would consider of it. As soon as they came ashoar, the Executioner bound him without any more adoe, advertising him to have a care of his Conscience. *Bourdon* supposing that to be the place where his companions obtained the Victory over death; he recommended his soul to God, and Cryed with a loud Voice, *Lord God. I am of the same Paste with my Companions, who maintained the Combat for thy Name, with glory and honour: I pray Thee, shew me Favour, that I may not succumb amidst the Allurements of Satan, the World, and the Flesh. I pray Thee, pardon all my Transgressions & Offences that I have committed against thy Majesty: and this in the Name of thy wel-beloved Son, our Lord.* Having prayed thus, he turned himself towards *Villagagnon*, and asked him for what he was to dye. For signing an heretical and scandalous Confession, said *Villagagnon*. When he asked upon what point, he was declared an heretick; *Villagagnon* told him it was no time to dispute, but to look to his Conscience: and bid the Executioner make haste: *Bourdon* seeing that Divine and humane Laws were as it were buried, being very resolute, he submitted himself to the Executioner; and calling for the Help and Favour of God, he dyed in the Lord. This Tragœdy was ended about ten in the morning. After which, *Villagagnon* exhorted the people to avoid the Sect of the *Lutherans*, with which he himself was once infected, to his great grief. He threatened death to the obstinat; saying, that everyone ought to observe what their fathers religiously taught them. This day he commanded plenty of Provisions to be given to the Artificers and Labourers, in token of Rejoicing. He had writen to some Courtiers, that if they would not blame him for carrying Preaching into *Brasil*, what great matters he would do against the Ministers; promising to silence them. After this great Cruelty, his Affairs went every day to wreck: Returning to *France*, he fell into Disgrace there; at last a se-

cret fire consumed him by degrees, and he dyed miserably, without repenting of his Apostasie. *French Martyrol. Lib. 7. Fol. 400, to 404. and 414, to 418.* Also *Fox*, his Table of *French Martyrs*, Vol. 2. p. 129. In this history, we are rather to admire the Grace of God helping three of this Company to go so far; than that the fourth went no further: Especially considering how destitute they were of Books, and of Friends that durst speak a word on their behalf; and above all, of their godly, learned Ministers, who might counsel them, and comfort them in their Agonies: whereas they had to do with a hasty furious Tyrant, more like a Leopard, than a Lord.

But to return to *Revel. 6. 9.* There seems to be a Distribution of Martyrs into two Classes. The first were slain because they were *Christians*, the latter ware slain because they were *Not Papists. For the WORD of God*] i.e. For the sake of Christ: They were for *JESUS*, and not for *Jupiter. Testimony* is, as it were, a Term of Art pointing to the Sack-cloth Witnesses mentioned Chap. 11.

dwell upon the Earth] This Phrase seems to be a stated *Periphrasis* for *Antichristians*, who impudently pretend to the Monopoly of all that is *Ecclesiastical*: whereas it is here said, that they themselves are *Extra Ecclesiam. And white Robes were given unto every one of them*] The very material garments in which they commonly suffered, were of that Colour. And these words seem to be meant of the Justice done to the Memory of these slain Martyrs, by the True and Universal Histories that were written of Them about this time, whereby they were vindicated from the Reproaches of their beastly Pursuers; and had their Proper Character given them. Their filthy garments and Crowns painted with Devils, were taken off from them; and Fair Mitres were set upon their Heads, and they were clothed with change of Raiment. So much as might be, a particular Account was given of each ones Birth, Education, Employment, and Causes of Suffering. *Illyricus*, his *Catalogus Testium Veritatis* was printed at *Basil* 1556. About the same time *John Crispin, Beza's* intimate friend, writ the *French Martyrology* at *Geneva*, which has been very much enlarged, a compleat and excellent Composure: And tis remarkable, that the words of *Rev. 6. 9, 10.* are set before us in the Title-page. *John Fox* began his univer-

French put to the sword by the Portugals. Heylyn Cosmog. page 1080

sal History of Martyrs, at *Basil*, during his exile there; and perfected it at *London*, after his return. At first, he writ in *Latine*, and sent the Copy to *Basil* to be printed, where the Work is in great Estimation; as also in divers other foreign Nations. *Legatur Martyrologium Joh. Foxi*, saith judicious *Pareus* in his learned Commentary upon *Rev.* 16. 6. Col. 8. 31. His more compleat *English* Edition was finished about the Year 1570. Thus Christ commanded the Keepers of his Great Ward Robe, to clothe his Martyrs with rich and costly white Robes of *Latine*, *English*, and *French* Contexture. Mr. *Fox* affirms, that by the Iniquity of Time, this Work could not be contrived in any Kings Reign since the Conquest, before the Halcyon days of *Queen Elisabeth*. One Reason why this important Work could best be performed then, may be gathered from the Triumph which this Learned Unwearied Author gives the Art of *Printing*, invented about the Year 1450. Of which, take this specimen: "By this Printing, as the Gift of "Tongues, and as by the singular Organ of the Holy Ghost, the Doctrine of the Gospel soundeth to all "Nations and Countries under Heaven; and what God revealeth to one man, is dispersed to many; "and what is known in one Nation, is opened to all. *Vol.* 1. P. 803. The Usefulness of Martyrologies, He expresseth thus, *Et tamen voluit hoc modo tua declarare Majestas, nobisque innotescere hominibus, quam honoresicium sit, pro tui nominis gloria fortiter dimicantes, occumbere, quorum Tu vitam a cinere ac rogu sic vindicas, sic causam tueris, sic dignitatem illustras, ut eandem, cum gloriæ fenore, abs Te recipiam clariorem, quam si nunquam alioqui perdidissent.* The best word the Lord Cardinal, and Bishops could afford Mr. *George Wisehart*, was, False Heretick, Runnagate, Traitor, and Thief. But when this Cause is brought before Mr. *Fox* by an Appeal, He by a very just and impartial Sentence assures us, that he was a most charitable Gentleman, a very good Scholar, a vertuous Traveller, an orthodox, holy man of God, and blessed Martyr of Jesus. *Vol.* 2. p. 521. Very notable is the Restauration of the Memory of *Martin Bucer*, & *Paulus Phagius*, by *Matthew Parker*, *Edmund Grindal*, *Gualter Haddon* and others, the Commissioners of *Queen Elisabeth*. Cardinal *Poolé*'s commissioners had been such Unrighteous and Cruel Exactors, as to make the Bones of those Worthies to pay for their Orthodoxy, and fruitfull

1450

Diligence in the Famous University of *Cambridge*. It was expressly mentioned in their commission, *ad eorum qui in heresi decesserint, memoriam damnandum*. And part of their sentence was, *Eorum Memoriam condemnandum esse, & condemnamus*. See the History at large. *Vol.* 3. P. 639. Of the Ninth Edition. In this manner, by these printed Martyrologies, adorned with lively Cutts; the blessed Martyrs are, all under one, both gloriously Apparelled; and also placed in the open View of the whole World of Christians whom *John* personates.

And it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season] Now what the Lord will do with this wicked World, or what Rest He will give to his Church after these long Sorrows; he is our Father in Heaven, His Will be done in Earth as seemeth best to his divine Majesty. *In the mean time, let us for our parts, WAIT upon his Graces Leisure; and glorifie his holy Name, and edifie one another with all Humility.* *John Fox* his Protestation, Vol. 1.

See Rogers's
Naaman
p. 601, 602

I was now about to have passed on to the Sixth Vial; but am interrupted by some of my Friends, who suppose that not one of the Vials is yet poured out. To which Objection, I have nothing more satisfactory to my self, to say, than what I writ in answer to Mr. *Benjamin Eliot*, April, 7. 1685. Some object, that *Revel.* 11. 19. & *Rev.* 15. 5. intend the same Thing; and the Witnesses are not yet risen, and therefore there is no Vial as yet poured out. Vide *Med.* lib. 3. cap. 6. P. 735. *Answ.* See *Med. Synchron.* 5. Sect. 3. P. 534. The word *Temple*, in both places, signifies the Reformed Church fashioned according to the Commandment of Christ, and his Apostles; and separated from that sorry earthly heaven conformable to the inventive fancies of men. But these two Scriptures have respect to very different *Times*, and *Conditions* of this Church. The Opening mentioned *Rev.* 15. 5. Precedes that mentioned *Rev.* 11. 19. Some hundreds of Years. The Temple *Rev.* 15. 5. In the Temple of the *Tabernacle* of the *Testimony. Tabernacle*] intimating its ambulatory, and movable condition; taken down in one place, and set up in another, according to the holy, wise, and sovereign Pleasure and Providence of God: And this may be spoken in contradistinction to the Temple *Rev.* 11. 19. wherein God will settle his Abode, *Psal.* 46. 4.

Testimony] The Sack-cloth Witnesses are the constituent parts of this Temple; which for the first Ages of it, was more closely shut, and less visible: and began now to be more open, when the Commissioners of the Sack-cloth Testimony stood forth, in order to the execution of their Charge. On the other hand, the Church *Revel.* 11. 19. Is called the Temple of GOD, intimating that God had a more visible, avowed, and immediat Hand in building this Temple. As the *New-Jerusalem* is said to come down from God out of Heaven. It may also imply the Excellency and Glory of this Church above the former. And therefore God will avowedly and plainly Own this Church to be His, by his Wonder-working Providence in the face of the whole World. Whereas God did but privatly, and partially favour the other. And that, many times, Not to save them from death (The Witnesses must be slain) but to strengthen them, and inable them to dye Triumphant. As it fared with Christ their Head. In this Divine Temple, *the Ark of the Covenant is Seen*: There's another difference. Mr. *Mede* conjectures it may be meant of Christ's Personal Appearance. See lib. 5. cap. 11. P. 1114. However, then it will satisfactorily and plainly appear to the Saints, that God in Christ, is a God Keeping Covenant; a God of Truth, Fullfilling every good Word He hath spoken concerning his Chosen, and concerning his Enemies. Then, and not till then, will it fully appear, that God is a faithfull Keeper of that Covenant recorded *Jerem.* 31. 31. and *Heb.* 8. 8. The Israelites had indeed served *Baal*, and not *Jehovah*. Therefore it was fit that God should carry it towards them as *Baal* did to his prophets, 1 *Kings*, 18. 26.—29. But now, God will of his bounteous Grace provide, that there shall be no more National, permanent Apostasie.

For the Confirmation of what has been said, take a few words of my ever honoured Master, the late Reverend, Learned and Holy Mr. *Thomas Parker*, in a Manuscript of his upon *Isai.* 60. *Nova Hierosolyma qua hic describitur, est ipsa Philadelphiensis Ecclesia, quoad antitypum, inchoata a temporibus Wiclefi; ante cujus pedes adorabunt omnes ipsius mimici, in compensationem Partientiae, quae sustinuerat Opprobrium antegressum tempora Wiclefi; et qua sustinuerat Opprobrium & Persecutiones passim erumpentes in primordijs Regni Christi, post Wiclephum. Restuti. Haec etiam est*

Ostendit apertum SPONSI Patrocinium. Brightman. Cantic. 6. 2. fol. 105.

ipsa Nova Hierosolyma quae describitur Apoc. 21. Comprehendit autem statum imperfectiorem, inchoatum a temporibus Wiclesii; et statum perfectiorem post finem annorum Antichristi; et etiam Perfectum tandem, introducendum in Gloria Caelesti. Et paulo post, Violentia in ea jam ex parte cessavit; saltem imperfectius, et Vicibus alternis: sed tandem perfecte cessabit &c. Sol igitur illius numquam occumbet, quoniam hostes Lucem ejus nunquam extinguunt: licet ad tres dies & dimidium, Voti sui compotes futuri videantur.

Upon these grounds, the forementioned Objection ceaseth to be cogent with me. And I am so far from thinking that no Vial is yet poured forth; that I am apt to conclude, that no less than Five ANGELS have already poured out their Vials. So many guesses have been made about the Subject of the Fourth Vial; that if I do enter a claim for the Sun of *Persecution*, I shall no more incur the danger of being extravagant, than some that have gone before me. Certainly, that is the Sun that consolidates and cherishes the Antichristian State. As for the Fifth Vial; *Bullinger, Brightman, Forbes, Pareus, Mede*, and Company Interpreters of the *Revelation*, have poured that to purpose. As also Dr. *Whitaker*, The Author of the History of the Council of *Trent, Chamier, Robert Parker, Dr. Ames, Dr. Owen*, cum multis Alijs. And seeing the Tower of *Babel* hath no other foundation than the Uncertain Vanity of the Apostle *Peter's* having been at *Rome: Uldaricus Velenus* did the *Babylonians* a singular displeasure in writing a Treatise to prove that He was never there. *Bellarmin. de Pontif. lib. 2. cap. 1.* The truth is, except their *Index expurgatorius* be enlarged with many Clauses of Scripture, the Probability lies on *Velenus* his side; Ten to One. And *Bellarmin's* arguing from *Peter's* Tomb, is unsound. For it was customary at *Rome*, to make Funeral Solemnitys, and erect Monuments for persons dying abroad. *Alcyone* resolved to pay that Respect to her husband *Ceyx*, who was lost at Sea. *Ovid* *Metamor. lib. 11. & lib. 12. princip.*

Si non Urna, tamen junget nos Littera; si non

Ossibus Ossa meis, at Nomen Nomine tangam.

How easy was it for the modern *Romans* to make use of this Custom when it might serve their turn. Moreover if this Vial partly intends Impressions to be made upon the City of

1527

Rome it self; yet we need not wait longer for them. There was a jostling between *Charles* the Emperour, and *Clement* the Bishop. The Emperours Army in their march towards *Naples*, wanting both Pay, and Provisions; *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, was fain to calm them, by promising the Liberty of furnishing themselves at *Rome*. Upon the fifth of *May*, 1527. They incamped in a meadow near the City. From thence He sent a Trumpet to the Pope, to demand passage for his Army through the City, in his way to *Naples*. The next morning, *May* 6. at break of day, He drew near the Suburbs, by way of the Mountain, and *Santo Spirito*; wherein he was favoured by a very thick Mist; which rising before day, and increasing with degrees of Fogg and thickness, became such a Covert to the whole Camp, that his Souldiers were not discerned till they were near the place where they began a furious Assault. The Noble Duke marched in the head of his Troops, carrying a scaling Ladder in his hand; and was unhappily slain with an Harquebuse shot. *Philibert* of *Chalon* Prince of *Orange* causing his body to be covered with a cloak, maintain the Charge very vigorously, and by dint of Sword forced his Entrance. The defendents fled before him; their Fear being far above any other sense or passion in them; and the Suburbs were entirely abandoned, and left a prey to the Conquerors. *Clement* was in the Palace of the *Vatican*, expecting the issue; who hearing that the Enemies were entered, discovered his Passions of Fear and frailty; and with certain Cardinals presently betook himself to the Castle of *St. Angelo*. He was in doubt whether it were best to abide there; or to retire to some place of greater surety. In the mean time, *Berard de Padoa*, who was fled from the Imperial Army, certified the Pope, that the Duke of *Bourbon* the General was dead, and that their Courage was thereby so much abated, that they desired an Accord with him: in which matter they sent out men to parly with the Principals. On the day following, while the Pope was in this perplexity, not knowing what course to take; the *Spaniards* seeing neither Order, nor Counsel to defend the Quarter beyond *Tiber*, entered without any Resistance; and the same evening, they entered by the bridge *Xisto*, into the City of *Rome*, where all was turned into Flight, and Confusion. For want of great Artillery, the first Dispute was sharp; in which

Fondly trusting
to his Excom-
munication of
Bourbon and
the Army.

there fell of the Imperialists One Thousand. Being exasperated by this Loss, and the death of their General; they slew and put to the Sword Four Thousand. In their pillaging, small regard was had to Friends or Favourites; much less was respected the Authority of Cardinals and Prelates, tho of their own Nation; Or the Dignity of Rich Temples, Relicks, Dedications. It is hard to particularise the greatness of the Prey. But that which made the Spoil infinite in Value, was the Quality and great number of Prisoners, Redeemed with most rich and huge Ransoms. The Launceknights, being *Germans* and favourers of *Luther*, bore no good will to the Church of *Rome*. These took prisoners certain Prelates, whom they apparelled with the Habits and marks of their Dignities, and then set them upon Asses and lean Mules, with their faces reversed to the crowpe of the beasts; and so led them through the City of *Rome*, upbraiding & terrifying of them with the Name of *Luther*.* Many of them they variously tormented; so that some first yielded a Ransom, and then their Lives. The Cardinal of *Sienna* compounded with the *Spaniards*, and was afterward made prisoner by the Launceknights, who made booty of his Palace, and then led him all naked with buffets and bastinados, into the borough. He was driven to redeem his life out of their hands with a promise of five thousand Ducats. The Cardinals *Minerva* and *Ponsaro* payed the Ransom they were rated at, after they had been in a vile Spectacle carried in Procession through the Town of *Rome*. One called the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor*, or Cardinal of *Pouch*, was slain. To these Stroaks were superadded that of the Plague, which invaded the City and Souldiers at the same time; and made its Entrance also into the impregnable Castle of *St. Angelo*, to the great danger of the Pope's life: about whom died certain special Men who did service to his person. The Pope was at last so far meekened by the complication of many pressing Calamities attending a strait Siege, as to be brought to a Composition with the Imperialists. He was to make present payment of threescore thousand Ducats to the Launceknights; and to the *Spaniards*, thirty and five thousand: This being done, they were to set him at liberty with all the Cardinals. Within three moneths after, other like great Sums were to be paid to the *Spaniards* and Launceknights, according to

*Symonds on
the Fifth Vial.
p. 251.*

*Fox, Vol. 2. p.
199, 202.*

their portions; which together with the Sums that had been paid, amounted to more than three hundred and fifty thousand Ducats. That he might make these Payments, and deliver himself from the heavy yoke of his Imprisonment, he created certain Cardinals for Money, of whom the most part, for their Learning or Vertue, were Unworthy so great Honour. The Cardinals *Cesis* and *Ursin* were delivered to the Souldiers as Hostages, who were led by the Cardinal *Colonna* to *Grottaferara*. And so all things having their orderly Expedition, the *Spaniards* were to guard him to a place of Surety the tenth of *December*. But he fearing some variation or ill Accident, stole away out of the Castle the night before, in the habit of a Merchant, and was guarded to *Orvietto*. The Souldiers satisfied of all their Payments from the time of the Pope's delivery, with forty thousand Ducats over and above, as imprest money for two days, they marched out of *Rome* the 17th day of *February*, a day which had been most joyfull, and of special Respiration to the wretched people of *Rome*, if their Calamities, which they supposed to be ended by the departure of the *Launceknights*, had not eftsoons re-continued in a new course by the Abbot of *Farfa*, and others of the family of the *Ursins*, who entering the Town with the paysants of their dominion, did for many days many great Insolencies. By reason of these Calamities, grievous for their continuance, and lamentable for their wretched Succession; descending from one Enemy that was *ill*, to another that was *worse*, the City of *Rome* was not only made naked of a great part of her Inhabitants, with the desolation of many houses and Palaces: but also it stood rent and defaced in Images of ancient and worthy presence, &c. *Guicciardin*, lib. 18. pag. 851—878. *Thuanus* speaks after this manner, *Cæsar, ut injuriam sibi a Clemente illatam ulcisceretur, nominis pontificij auctoritatem per omnem Hispaniam abolet; exemplo ab Hispanis posteritati relicto, posse ecclesiasticam disciplinam citra nominis pontificij auctoritatem, ad tempus conservari. Eodem tempore Columnij a Cæsare instigati, Romam occupant, & Clementem in Mausoleo Hadriani obsident. Nec multo post totes viribus Romam itum, Duce Borbonio, et urbe in petu capta & direpta* I J CCCC *postquam a Totila postremo vastata fuit, anno, abunde de Clementis ambigua fide Cæsari satisfactum est.* Histor. lib. 1. p. 17. Cæsars abolishing the Popes

Authority for a while, might lead the way to *Henry* the Magnificent his Unckle, to do it for good and all. *Guicciardin* reports the Imperial Army to consist of Four and Twenty Thousand; viz. eight thousand *Spaniards*, twelve thousand *Launceknights*, and four thousand *Italians*: an Army sufficient to do in *Italy* what they pleased. The Cardinals that were in *Italy* made a motion, that as well they as the other Cardinals beyond the mounts, might assemble together at *Avignon*, to take Counsel in so troublesom a time, what course to hold for the stability of the church. But because they would not all at one time, range themselves under the power of so mighty Princes, they declined it. The Pope's chief hope was in *Francis* the *French* King, who had been *Cæsars* Prisoner but a little before; and now the *Dauphin*, and Duke of *Orleance* were in his hand as Hostages. Which rendred his motions slow and irregular, as of a person in Fetters. So that Monsieur *Lawtrech* commander of the Leaguers Army advanced not so far as *Rome*. And *Tiber* by its Overflowing, incommoded a Party of their Men. The Emperour also had a considerable Interest in *Italy*. *Pompejus Columna* the Cardinal, who much Influenced the People, was at his devotion; and the Duke of *Ferrara* strongly solicited *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon* to surprise *Rome*, as the only Expedient for securing his Master's Interests. By such means it came to pass that the Imperial Army had no less than Nine Moneths time to pillage *Rome*. Where the Pope contrary to his custom, his nature, and [24] all expectation, did not only constantly remain; but being confident of defending the City, he did not only forbid *Men* to go away; but also made an Ordinance that no *Goods* should be carried out; which Merchants and Artificers would have secured by sending them down the River. *Ea Nocte nihil unquam lugubrius aut funestius Roma vidit*, saith *Onuphrius* in the life of *Clement*, p. 382. col. 2. Now if one or two Kings did so far waste *Rome* by the by, and as it were in Jest: When the Seventh *Vial's* Turn comes, the Ten Kings will do it perfectly, and with a Vengeance. For *Rome* will be reserved till then, *Ut sentiat se mori*. If the Papists object the death of the Duke of *Bourbon*: That Loss was well repaired by the Choice of the Prince of *Orange* in his stead; by which means *Rome's* Night was made more dark, and came on the faster. And *Johannes*

XL Thousand
Onuph. p. 382

Medices, one of the chief Commanders on *Clement's* side, fell also by a shot. Even Monsieur *Lawtrech*, the Pope's deliverer, died in the Camp not very long after; and most of his Army was swept away by the Plague. Not above three Years after, the River *Tiber* received a Commission to make some considerable addition to the Ruine of *Rome*. *Tiberis alveum egressus magis quam ad eam diem hominum memoria, vel vetustis monumentis relatum esset, Urbem inundavit, incredibilis cum Romanorum damno, et ædium detrimento.* Onuphr. p. 384. col. i.

Upon all, or some of these Considerations, it seems to me probable that Five of the Vials are already poured out. Not but that they hold on their course still; and will do so, untill the Confluence of them all do with irresistible Force ingulf Antichristianisme in utter Ruine. The truth is, all the Vials may in some sence be said to have been poured out together at the beginning of this Period of *Rome's* gradual Decay. Yet there are critical Times, and characteristical passages of divine Providence, wherein each Vial obtains the successive Regency appointed them of Christ. And the Sixth Angel seems now to stand ready with his Vial, waiting only for the Word to be given for the pouring of it out. The pouring out of this Vial will dry up the Antichristian Interests in the New World: and thereby prepare the way for the Kings of the East. This is agreeable to the analogy of Interpretation generally given by the Ancients; and more lately by *Bullinger*, *Pareus*, *Cowper*, and many others. Only as *Euphrates* is one individual River, so tis suitable to limit it to this Continent; thereby to keep it as it were within its banks. There is an harmony between the Third and Sixth Vials. In the pouring out of that, the Antichristian Rivers were made bloody, by the Civil, and Military Sword: By the pouring out of this, the Great River is wholly dried up; so that Nothing of it is left remaining to make *Babylon* glad. Consequently, the *Armagedduntine* Expedition will some way resemble that of 1588. Only it will be much greater, and more fatal to the principal Undertakers. Mr. *Brightman* couples *Revelation*, 16. 16. with *Daniel*, 11. 45. So that if the genuine sence of that place hath been given, we know here to look for the drying up of *Euphrates*. And to make the *Turkish* Empire the subject of the Sixth Vial, seems heterogeneous: For *Euphrates* must

needs be parcel of the Waters upon which the Whore sits at the time when this great River comes to be dried up: Which the Sun of Righteousness will do, by causing so much of her dominion to cease for ever. The Pope and his followers, by warring against the *Turk*, do not dry up *Euphrates*. but do enlarge the *Papal*, by the diminution of the *Ottoman* Empire. And although the passing away of the second Wo be matter of universal Joy; yet to make it to be the drying up of *Euphrates*, seems hard: For the Sixth Vial doth not carry off an *Old* Plague; but brings on a *New* one. Neither did I ever hear that the Reformed Churches fared so much the better for the taking of *Buda*, as to make me think that *Euphrates* was then partly dried up. Moreover this is a new accommodation. The first that I find of it, is in Mr. *Fox*, p. 373. Probably, if he had met with it before, he would have mentioned it; that being his professed design, Præfat. p. 6. But he acknowledgeth Interpreters went another way, and endeavours to refute them. *Pareus* speaks thus, *Neque nova vel recens a nobis excogitata est hæc interpretatio. Eandem enim ANONYMUS meus ante 260. annos expressit his verbis, &c. col. 839.* The inconsistency of this Opinion with *Mede's Hypotheses*, makes not a little against it. He himself seems to be put upon bending the fourth, to make it conform; *aut salsam quod bestie saluti innexum, ejusque interest. p. 656.* Although so great a Pilot's taking this path, was an extraordinary prejudice; yet many learned Expositours have still chosen to go in that which was the beaten Road in Mr. *Fox's* time; and, as I suppose, was, and is the KING's high Way. Mend but the Chronology of *Alcasar's* dream, and what he hath written upon the Sixth Vial, becomes a very good Protestant Exposition; *Etenim repente, et præter opinionem, alius uxorem propriam esse Christianam deprehendit, alius filiam, frates alius, alius cognatos & affines; ac demum omnes pariter animadverterunt Christianam Fideris sese in mediam Romam, et in ipsas eorum domos insinuasse, atque adeo vix aliquam esse super, quoniam cælestis ille penetrasset Ignis, quem Christus in terra accensurus advenit. p. 730.* To his own that golden Promise belongs, The Lord will dry up *Euphrates* to make a way for his scattered ones. Some think it concerns the Return of the *Jews* miraculously; as once through the Red Sea. *Rogers's Naaman. p. 228.*

Sed, Quorsum hæc? What Concernment hath *America* in these Things! *America* is not any part of the *Apocalyptic* Stage. The Promise of preaching the Gospel to the whole World, is to be understood of the *Roman* Empire only, according to the extent of it in *John's* time: As it is said *Augustus* made a decree that all the world should be taxed. The *Roman* Empire contained about a third part of the Old World: and this *Triental* only was to be concern'd with the *Apocalypse*. The Prophecies of the *Revelation* extend but to such Kingdoms or Monarchies of the World, where the Church in all Ages still was: therefore not to the *West-Indians*, nor *Tartarians*, nor *Chineses*, nor *East-Indians*.

But what shall we say, if the Stone which these Builders have refused, should be made the Head of the Corner? *Lo, we heard of it at Ephratah: we found it in the fields of the wood.* Or if it be not made a Corner-stone: that it should be quite thrown by, and not be at all laid in the Building: is more than can be proved from the Scriptures. I suppose there is *nec vola, nec vestigium* of any such thing to be found there. *Who art thou that judgest another Mans Servant? to his own Master he standeth or falleth: Yea, he shall be holden up: for GOD is able to make him stand;* may be applicable here. There is a vast odds between historical and prophetic Scriptures, as to the manner of their declaration. *Augustus* taxed as much of the World as he could; taxed all *his* world. Why may not *Jesus*, in like manner; give Law to all His World, without asking *Cæsars* leave? To tedder the Scriptures, and tie them to the *Herculean* Pillars; takes off all the Lustre of the *Spanish* Motto, *PLUS ULTRA*; and makes the Glory of it to dwindle away to very nothing. But the Word of God is not bound. To go about to do it, is, I fear, to limit the Holy One of Israel; and injuriously to spoil the Church of that Doxology, *In God will I praise the Word: in the Lord will I praise the Word. I have seen an end of all perfection; but thy Commandment is exceeding broad.* It was so in *David's* time: but now, tho the Scripture Canon be compleat, it is so far shrunk, as to extend but to about a Quarter of the Old World? For they who have no share in the *Revelation*, tis hard to think how they will be able to make out a good Title to any portion of Scripture: this being the last, and most comprehensive of all. And what a Rack of *Romanizing*, endless, incurable Torture,

must this needs fasten serious Christians upon. Whenas after diligence to acquaint themselves with the Scriptures, and to obtain the Favour of God in the ways there marked out: still all is bootless, except they can prove themselves to dwell within the bounds of the *Roman* Empire. Which, as to multitudes, is a doubt that all the Learning in *Europe*, is not sufficient to resolve. And what shall become of *Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Bohemia, Moscovia*, much of *Germany*, and a great deal more of *Europe* beside? According to this Reckoning, these Nations must be *Extra Ecclesiam*, because they are *Extra Imperium*: As also, by far the greatest part of *Asia*, and *Africa*, and all *America*. The first and most, so far as I know, that hath given countenance to this Bill of Exclusion; is the Conjecture of the Learned and Pious Mr. *Mede*. And therefore it may not be amiss to take a View of that Chapter entituled, *DE GOGO & MAGOGO* in *Apocalypsi Conjectura*. Lib. 3. p. 713. Altho the Author be incomparably more than my Match; yet the Honour of being a Retainer to my Noble Lord *Say*; Love to my Country; and the Advantage, as I apprehend, on my side, do prompt me to the Undertaking. Dr. *Twisse* in a Letter to Mr. *Joseph Mede*, dated *Ap. 6. 1635.* mentions his having written to my Lord *Say* touching his Counsels for advancing the Plantations of the *West*, and telling him, that his Lordship little thought that they tended to promote the Kingdom of *Gog* and *Magog*. My Lord in his Answer to the Doctor, gave a touch only thereupon; which was this, That surely, the *Americans* were not *Gog* and *Magog*. The Dr. writ more Largely of this Subject in his next Letter. Upon this his Lordship wrote a large Letter Opposing the Concept of *Gog*, and *Magog*; tho the *Millennium* of Christ's Kingdom were granted; yet not a little against that also. *Epist. 50. p. 993.* Had this Letter of the L. *Say* been in print, probably, there had been nothing left unanswered; or at least there had been a trodden Path: whereas now I must beat out my way as well as I can.

*Buchanan,
Brerewood.*

Conjectura] Thus I have told you out my fancy of the Inhabitants of that World: which tho it be built upon mere *Conjectures*; and Not upon firm ground; &c. *Epist. 43. p. 981.* Let but those who quote Mr. *Mede*, imitate his Modesty; and as yet no great trouble occurs.

A *Pocalypsis codex est fatorum ecclesie Gentium, non Judæorum. Habent enim Judæi de suo &c. neque nostra ulla-tenus opus habent.*

These Pronouns, *Meum* and *Tuum*, in a business of this nature, I cannot away with. This being one of the first Writts of Partition brought for dividing the Scriptures, that I have taken notice of. The Scriptures are an Estate holden in *Joint Tenancy*, and none have any preferable Right in them. From the Epistle Dedicatory; *Unto his Servants*, we must with Mr. *Dent* conclude, that the whole Doctrine of the *Revelation* appertaineth to the Universal Church of Christ throughout all the World, in all Times and Ages. p. 8. The *Bodleian* Library is not the Propriety of this or the other particular College, or Hall; much less, of the happy Keeper of it: but of the Renowned University of *Oxford*. By which means the whole World is benefited by their Illuminations. The Apocalypse is a most illustrious Epithalamium suited to the stately Magnificence of the Bridegroom, and of the Bride. Now the *Jews* upon their Return, will eminently sustain that Character. The *New Jerusalem* is that which the Old and New Testament do ring of. This City of God is especially made up of *Jews*, and from thence it hath its Name. *Goodwin*, *Rev.* p. 28. Therefore, seeing the Parchments belong to those who have the Estate; this Book must needs belong to the *Jews*: because the glorious Things that are spoken of therein, are eminently spoken of them. Our LORD, whose this Book is, and his Servant *John*, the writer of it, were *Jews*, and there have been of that Nation converted in all Ages, who have kept Possessions for the rest: so that I cannot discern any incongruity in affirming that this Book belongs to them also; and gives an Account of God's Providence toward them; especially upon their Return. [*Return Return, O Shulamite! Return Return!*] But, let us see what is laid in against their Claim.

Ambitu suo Gentes] The Church consists not of Gentiles only. The four Quarters of the World with all their Furniture, make the Apocalyptic Stage: and in every one of these are the dispersed *Jews* to be found. *Eodem (ni fallor) faciunt &c.*] If there be not Room enough in *Rev.* 10. 11. to entertain the *Jews*, I cannot imagine any thing large enough to comprehend them.

*Sed omnium maxime illud confirmat Parabolarum Symbolorumque propheti-
corum in hoc Libro indoles atque ingenium; in quibus nempe passim observare licet, Judæos, sive synagogam
Israeliticam, Personam Vere Christi Ecclesie ex Gentibus surrogatæ, sustinere: Gentes contra, typum Idolatrarum, ejusdemque
Ecclesie hostium; &c. Atqui in ea Prophetia ubi Gens Israelitica alienam personam sustinet; ibi suam ipsius gestare
nullo modo verisimile est: quandoquidem illud fieri nequit, quin totius
Parabolæ ratio conturbaretur, &c.*

It is indeed a singular Honour to that Nation, that sincere Christians; such as with inviolable Chastity keep themselves to the Institutions of their LORD, should be called *Jews*, *Rev.* 2. 9. But to take an occasion from thence, to exclude all *Jacob's* Posterity from this Privilege, is to argue perversely. Our Saviour doth not deny *Nathanael* to be a *Jew*, by pronouncing him an *Israelite indeed*. The *Revelation* doth not so much regard what Nation a man is of: but whether he be a follower of the LAMB, or no. *For he is not a Jew* [in this spiritual sence] *which is one outwardly* [only] *But he is a Jew which is one inwardly.* *Rom.* 2. 9. In this glorious State of the Church which *John* introduceth, the *Jews* must needs be very much concerned; because Christs Receiving them again, is a notable means reserved of God, to revive, and bring on the Spring of the Gentiles, and to cause them to flourish, as is herein described. *Rom.* 11. 15. And yet *there is no difference between the Jew, and the Greek: for the same LORD over all, is Rich unto all that call upon him.*

Hinc adeo sit ut tantillum &c.] The *Jews* are not mentioned by the by only; but directly, and on purpose; as in the beginning of the nineteenth chapter. And that which is last accomplished; is firstly and chiefly designed by the Efficient. *I will be their GOD, and they shall be my People.* Is the most Great, and Glorious, and All that can be said. Whatsoever else is spoken, must be only in explanation of this; or it will be perfectly blasphemous Nonsense. Upon which consideration, me thinks *tantillum*, and *Sponsa AGNI*, do not stand well together in the same chapter. However, we are beholden to this great and worthy Author, for his concurrent Testimony, that the *Jews* are the People intended in the sixteenth, and nineteenth Chapters. *Pari ratione*] May it not with more, or equal strength be argued, *New-Jerusa-*

lem is not the same with *Jerusalem*: but as *Jerusalem* was to the westward of *Babylon*; so *New-Jerusalem* must be to the westward of *Rome*, to avoid disturbance in the Order of these Mysteries. If we might be allowed to take Mr. *Mede's* words as they seem to sound at the first hearing; they would signifie no less; "New-Jerusalem is not the whole Church; but the "Metropolis thereof, and of the New World. *Epist.* 20. p. 944. The thirty seventh of *Ezekiel* treateth of the Marriage of the LAMB. Therefore it seemeth probable that the thirty eight Chapter treateth of the same *Gog* and *Magog* that *John* doth; the same Order being kept in both places. If *Ezekiel* have some respect to former Enemies; that doth not hinder, but that this might be the ultimat and principal Aim of the Prophesie. The Reverend, Learned and Holy Mr. *John Cotton*, had much of the meaning of this mysterious Book shewed him by Christ, as a Blessing upon his much Prayer and Study, in order to his Exposition of the same in his weekly Lecture at *Boston* in *New-England*. He hath written thus, "This *Gog* cannot be *Gyges*, nor *Antiochus Ephiphanes*. This *Gog* in *Ezekiel*, is "the same with this *Gog* in the Text. For 1. *Gog* in *Ezekiel* is foretold (when he shall come) to be the "same whom the Prophets of old spake of, *Ezek.* 38. 17. 2. *Gog* in *Ezekiel*, cometh after the "Resurrection and Reunion of *Judah* and *Israel*, *Ezek.* 37. Throughout. And upon his Destruction, "*Ezekiel* seeth a Vision of a glorious Church of the *Jews*, Chapt. 40. To the end of the Book. So "doth this *Gog* arise up to fight against the Holy, after the first Resurrection of the Churches of *Jews* "and *Gentiles*. And after his Destruction, *John* seeth the *New-Jerusalem* come down out of Heaven, "Chapt. 21. to the end of the Book.

"When the Saints and Witnesses of Jesus Christ have enjoyed the Liberty, Purity, and Authority "of Church Government, for the space of a Thousand Years, after the Destruction of Antichrist; "Satan will again find Liberty and Power to deceive the Nations, Princes and People, in great "multitudes, to war against the Church; especially against *Jerusalem*. V. 7, 8, 9. Taken out of a "Manuscript of Mr. *Cotton's* own Hand-writing, p. 34, 36. Mr. *Greenbil* upon *Ezek.* 38. 5, 6. p. 496. Observes, *From all quarters of the World there be Enemies ready to combine and all with Gog*

&c. Those of the East, comprehended under *Persia*; those of the South, intended under *Ethiopia*; those of the West, included in *Lybia*; and those of the North, contained under *Gomer*, and the house of *Togarmah*, were all at the beck of *Gog*, to go against *Jerusalem*; the Servants, and Worship of God therein.

Ex quo autem hominum genere Hostis hic novissimus. . . . Ex gentibus in opposito nobis Hemisphæria, quas Deus Opt. Max. occulto suo judicio, maximam partem, nunquam sit Evangelij sui lumine perfurusus.

Moses, *Deut.* 29. 29. speaking, for ought I know, of the unparalleled Providences awaiting the aboriginal Natives of *America*, shuts up all with that solemn and silencing Axiom, *The Secret things belong unto the LORD our GOD*. A man may know more by himself, than all others can: and yet he cannot lawfully account himself a Castaway; much less may he denounce another man Reprobate; and least of all, a whole World of men: except he shall suppose himself licenced to cast firebrands, arrows and death; and say, Am not I in sport? One of the chief Spices wherewith Historians have embalmed the Memory of *Isabella Queen of Castile*, is, that she did greatly love Learned men, who were of good Conversation; especially Prelats of an holy and religious Life, preferring such. Accordingly, Twelve learned Clerks of good and holy life, according to those times, were sent over with *Christopher Columbus* in his second Voyage. *Grimestow Hist. of Spain*, p. 845, 949. And we would fain hope there might be some Gold among the counterfeit mettal; the time of *Refining* not being then far come on. According to Mr. *Mede's Simile* in his excellent Discourse upon *Isai.* 2. 2, 3, 4. *Disc.* 29. p. 185. Dr. *Whitaker de notis Eccles.* p. 505. speaks not without hope of the *Americans*, as if it might fare better with them, than with their Teachers. *Quod si qui forte illo- rum, Scripturas intelligunt, si Dominus illis suum Spiritum dederit: possunt in meliori statu esse, quam sunt ipsi Monarchi, & Jesuite, a quibus instructi sunt. Hæc qualiscunque Evangelij predicatio, censeri debet prodromus predicationis incorruptæ, quæ suo tempore subsequetur.* Alsted his continuation of *Chamier, de notis Ecclesiæ*, p. 102. Mr. *Mede* mentions a Sentence taken out of a Treatise published Anno 1120. *Sicut sumus præcedit ignem, victoriam pugna; sic et gloriam Christi,*

tentatio Antichristi. Book, 3. p. 888. In Mr. Broughton's Explication of the Holy Apocalypse, chap. II. p. 141. are these words, "The *West-Indians*, seem to come of the *East*: as both speak some *Hebrew*. "Now God driveth us to both *Indians*, not for Pepper, and Tabacco: but in time, to shew his Name. And the *Jesuites*, in teaching the Holy Trinity, Person, and Justice of Christ, may save many. Mr. *Daniel Rogers*, Mr. *Mede's* Tutor, a Man of vast Parts, writeth favourably of the *New-English* Plantations in *America*; and ariseth a Note higher, in expressing his hopes of the Conversion of the Natives, *Who can, or dare deny, but that the calling of those Americans to the knowledge of the Truth, may seem a weighty Occasion to expect from God the gift of Miracles?* Naaman &c. p. 6, 169. Mr. *Henry Scudder*, a solid & fruitful Divine; in opening those words in the Lords Prayer, *Our Father which art in Heaven*, p. 117, 118. hath this Use, "Whereas we read and hear of much People "both in *Asia*, and *America*, that worship and pray unto the very Devil, not with inward worship only "(for if these only, did so, it were happy with many that are called christians) but with outward "worship also: Tho we cannot speak to them, to reclaim them of this devilish Idolatrie; yet in "compassion we should speak to God for them, that He would please to send the Light of his glorious "Truth and Gospel, to discover their Sin unto them, and to recover them out of the snare of the "Devil, who holdeth them captive at his will. I do urge this the rather, because I am perswaded, that "when al *Israel* shall be called namely, when the *two Sticks* prophesied of by *Ezekiel*, shall be joined "into One *Stick*: when, as the Apostle saith, *All Israel shall be saved* which State of theirs, v. 15. he "calleth a receiving of Life from the dead: When this shall come to pass, I doubt not but *Many* of "those deceived souls, which yet never heard of the Gospel (except by *Papists*, who make them "whom they convert, thrice more the children of the Devil, than before) shall have part in the same "Resurrection: Let us therefore pray for them.

Having seen these three Worthies thus pleading and wrestling for the New World; as also Dr. *Ames*, and Mr. *Nicholas Estwick*, as far as I can gather, a well wisher thereunto: Remembring too that they were all, of, *Christ-College* in *Cambridge*; it gives me occasion to say,

Una eademque Domus, Vulnus Opemque tulit.

If the ancient name *Vates*, may still be allowed to Poets; it will be the more considerable that Mr. *Abraham Cowley* hath said,

*At tu præteritas tandem obliviscere clades,
Nam tanti non parva Deus tibi, America, vindex,
Et dedit & majora dabit solatia damni.
Gaude forte tua; pars omnis amara vorata est
Jam dudum: dulcis superest: &c. &c.
ngenium, pietas, artes, ac bellico virtus
Huc profuge venient, & regna illustria condent.
Et domina his virtus erit, & fortuna ministra.*

Plantar. Lib. 5. p. 252, 253. Likewise, *Herbert's* Poems entertain us very nobly with a good Presage for the New World; p. 191.

Then shall Religion to America flee:

They have their Times of Gospel, even as we.

Not doubting but that these Authorities, being brought to the King's Scales, will be over Weight; I pass on. *Nostris vero Hemisphærij orbem, quem Oceanus ambitu suo circumscribit*] God hath founded the American *Tebel*, upon the Seas, and established it upon the Floods. For Rivers, Lakes, and Seas, *America* refuseth to give place. *Quique solus Antiquis creditus est humani generis domicilium.*]

The Antients believed there was no Earth here. The doctrine of *Antipodes*, was with them, Heresie. *Virgilius* was condemned for it. So that by this argument, the Inhabitants of the New World tread water. But to argue from an antiquated Opinion, after it is, by Experience, convicted of essential and total Error; is truly to personat Water, as to its instability. One may equally fasten the same Imputations upon *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, because *Montezuma* & his Subjects, did not believe there was any such Place, or People. *In quo primus homo conditus, &c.*] I shall always think the worse of *Holineß of Places*, for Mr. *Mede's* sake; seeing it hath put one of his Learning and Charity, upon throwing away the New World at a cast: For that seems to be the only *basis* of this argumentation. And yet one would think, That the Fall of Mankind, *Judas's* Treason, and *Mabome's* Alcoran, do but ill favourably contribute towards the sanctification of *Asia*. *Eorum discipuli prædicarunt*] *Thuanus* was

of Opinion, that God raised the *Spaniards* to that Height of Power, that they might be fit Instruments for carrying the Gospel into these remote Parts; and speaks thus of it, *Non mediocre, meo quidem iudicio, opere pretium fuit, ubi nullas omnino terras esse credidit antiquitas, ibi inter tot gentes antea incognitum CHRISTI nomen vel perperam audiri & celebrari. Histor. lib. I. p. 10. F.* But to leave other *American* Plantations, it is certainly known, That the Disciples of CHRIST have, for these Seventy seven Years, constantly and publicly preached the everlasting Gospel in *New-England* in *America*, and have kept his Sabbath. It should seem Mr. *Estwick* had alleged the Conversion of some *Americans*, by Mr. *Mede's* Reply, *March, 22. 163⁶/₇ Epist. 69. p. 1034.* But the *New-Englanders* have not yet converted one; the *Spaniards* have, but unto *Antichrist*, not to *Christ*: and the Story of their Conversion is such as may make a man justly suspect there hath scarce yet been ever a true *Christian* of that Race] It is a received Maxim, that into whatsoever place Jesus Christ sendeth the Gospel of Grace; in that Place, He hath People to be saved. And who can certainly fix the Moment when Christ shall begin this mysterious Work? At the date of this Letter, sixteen Years were run out, after Christ began to settle his Abode here. And I presume the Negative testimony of a Person three Thousand miles off the Place concerned, will not obtain much credit with equal Judges. Especially, remembering that the 43th Epistle begins thus, *Concerning our Plantations in the American World, I wish them as well as any body: tho I differ from them far; both in other things, and the grounds they go upon.* Neither can I believe, that the Captain of our Salvation hath landed his Forces here, to disturb and vex Satan only;* but to fight with him in good Earnest, and break his Head. It is remarkable what Mr. *Nathanael Morton* relates of one *Squanto* an *Indian*, in his *New England's Memorial*, p. 25, 35, 40. "He proved a special Instrument "sent of God for the good of the *English*, and was their Interpreter; directed them in planting of their "Corn; where to Fish; and was also their Pilot to bring them to unknown places; and never left there "untill his death. He was a Native of this place where *Plimouth* is, and scares any left besides him. "The great Sachem *Massasoiet* sought his life; which caused him to stick close to the *English*. Being "on

May America prosper, as Wintthrop, & Wilson, and Company came into it upon good Grounds!

* 1 *Kings* 20. 23, 28.

a Voyage to buy Corn, by reason of cross Winds they put in at *Mannamoik*, where *Squanto* fell "sick, and in a few days dyed. A little before his death, he desired Governor *Bradford* (who was then "there) to pray for him, that he might go to *English* mans *God* in *Heaven*: and bequeathed many of "his Things to the *English* Friends, for a Remembrance of his Love: of whom they had a great Loss. "This fell out in the Year 1622. As *Rahab*, he with the uttermost hazard of his life changed sides; left his countrymen, and espoused the Interest of Strangers: And therefore I dare not deny, but that *Rahab* and he do now fare alike. This Year the *Indians* were exceedingly affected with the Providence of God in sending a plenteous Rain upon the very same day that the *English* had set apart, and sought it by humble and fervent Prayer. All the morning, and the greatest part of the day, it was clear weather, no cloud, or sign of Rain to be seen. Yet towards Evening it began to be overcast, and shortly after to rain. It came without either Wind, or Thunder, or any Violence; but by degrees, and in that Abundance, as that the Earth was thorowly soaked therewith: which did apparently revive the languishing Corn and other Fruits; to their own & the *Indians* Admiration. One of them was heard to say, *Now I see that English-mans God is a good God: for He hath heard you, and sent you Rain, and that without thundering Storms and Tempests, which use to break down our Corn. Surely, your God is a Good God!* The Drought lasted from the third week in *May*, to the middle of *July*, without any Rains; and with great Heat, for the most part. *N. E. Memorial*, p. 37, 38. Since the death of our Author, many of them have been converted; a satisfactory Account whereof was sent over to *England*, and is in Print: by means whereof, many fervent Prayers were offered up to God on their behalf. So that we may hope, the Children of so many Prayers shall not finally miscarry. The New Testament was translated into their own Language, and came forth in Print, in *September*, 1661. And since that time, the whole Bible hath been given them by the singular Industry of Mr. *John Eliot*, at the Cost of the Honorable Corporation; and a Catechise, and several books of practical Divinity, to boot. There are also several Churches of them wherein the Ordinances of Christ are administred, and his Sabbath sanctified. Which

1661.

2000 Copies
of a more correct
Edition were
printed Anno
1685.

Congregations may be compared to a piece of a *Pomgranat* within the Locks of the *New-English* Church. To the many printed Testimonies of Mr. *John Eliot*; Father, and Son, Mr. *Thomas Mabew*, Mr. *Henry Whitfield*, and others; one manuscript Evidence may be added. Major *Daniel Gookin*, a Person of known Integrity; who tho he were an Assistant, yet disdained not to accept the Government of the *Indians*, and was very conversant with them; both at *Cambridge*, and at their own homes, for many Years together. *Anno* 1674. He writ a Treatise thereabout; which he entituled, *INDIANS CONVERTED*. In the 64th page, is this Passage, "For my own part, I have no doubt; but am fully satisfied, according to judgement of "Charity, that divers of them do fear God, and are true Believers. Well then, as to the *Massachusetts*, Triumphant *Whitaker's Hypothesis* is happily made a *Thesis; Scripturas intelligunt, Dominus illis suum Spiritum dedit.*

Cujus finibus Judæorum *illa per omnes Gentes dispersio concluditur*] It is well known what Swarms of *Jews* did dwell in *Spain*, especially, from the times of *Adrian* the Emperour. But in the Year 1492. *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, King and Queen of *Castile*, made an Edict, whereby all *Jews*, which inhabited in *Castile*, or *Leon*, were enjoined to turn to the *Christian* Religion, and to be baptized within three Moneths; on pain of having their Goods confiscat, and perpetual Banishment. By this means the miserable People were brought into Great Perplexity. The most religious of them took counsel in the three moneths space of delay before they were to leave the Country; and found means to send away their Money and chief Goods out of *Spain*, wherein they were aided by many honest-minded Christians; who did help to hide them. Others, who valued their ease, Native-Country, and Goods, above all other matters; were baptised, and made profession of the *Christian* Religion. And in process of time, the noble Families of *Spain* allied themselves by Marriage, to that Race. *Grimeston, Hist. Spain, p. 946, 947.* This was called the great Dispersion. One hundred and two and twenty Thousand Families were driven out of *Spain*: and were forbidden to return, upon pain of forfeiting both Estate and Life. *Meminit bujus exilij Dav. Gans P. 1. pag. 60. b vocat Ejectionem magnam; qua innumeri Solum, plurimi etjam*

Religionem mutarint. Scribit, Calamitatem illius temporis ne quidem exprimi posse. Plura habet Schebh. *Jehuda*, p. 38, 39, 40. *Hottinger. De Judaismo*, p. 914. *Eodem illo Anno, Hebræos universos, quorum ingens & infinitus prope numerus erat, Hispaniæ finibus excedere jussit. Et ut Hereticos, Mauros, et Hebræorum reliquias e suo regno penitus evelleret, sanctum Inquisitionis officium instituit.* *Hispan. Illustrat. P. 1188.*

The very same Year, 1492. *Christopher Columbus* found out the New World for *Castile* and *Leon*. And altho the New World was not yet made ready for the Entertainment of the ejected *Jews*; or else the *Jews* were not yet fit to dwell in a place of their Own; Yet considering the *Synchronisme* of this Banishment, and Discovery; with the marvellous Perplexity the distressed Outcasts were in, not knowing whither to go: As also the great Gain that this Navigation afforded; the hopes some might conceive of managing themselves more safely with their feigned Religion, which they had not proved, in a remote Place, than at home: Considering also the mixture of those Nations by Inter-Marriages, and that the greatest and best part of *America* is peopled by *Spaniards*, and *Portugals*: It is not improbable, but many *Jews* may reside there, tho covered with a *Spanish* Vail. *Manasseh Ben Israel, Downam, Thorowgood, Eliot*, and others were of Opinion that *America* was first peopled by the Ten Tribes. God's removing *Israel* out of his sight, is no less than three times mentioned; which may insinuate the Remoteness of that Land, into which God by his Providence intended to cast them. And none was so remote, and so much out of sight, as *America*. Mr. *Greenhil* thinks it is no Hæresie to say, Christ meant the Ten Tribes, *John, 10. 16.* Alluding to *Ezek. 37. 22, 24. cap. 37. p. 462.* If it be no Hæresie to say, the Ten Tribes are the *Sheep*: Why should it be accounted Hæresie to say, *America* is the distinct *Fold* there implied? For Christ doth not affirm that there shall be one *Fold*; but that there shall be ONE FLOCK, ONE SHEPHERD! But however it might be when Mr. *Mede* writ, Now it is manifest to all, that very considerable Numbers of *Jews* are seated in the New World; where they merchandize, have their *Synagogues*, and places of *Burial*. At *Spike's* in *Barbados*, there is a Street called *Jews* Street; the most live at the *Bridge*, an there is the *Burying Place* for both Towns. At *Ja-*

² *Kings* 17.
^{v.} 18, 20, 23.

maica there are a great many; and *Port-Royal* also hath its *Jews* Street; by the same Token, that the Formidable Earthquake left that standing; tho' their Synagogue, which stood in another Street, was thrown down by it. This Earthquake happened upon the Third day of the Week, about a Quarter of an hour before Noon; being the Seventh of *June*, 1692. A very great Treasure of Merchandise, and of Silver and Gold, then perished. Many Houses were swallowed up; others thrown down; at the *Point*, and over the Island; especially such as were built of Stone and Brick. A very fair Church at *Port-Royal*, and other newly built at *Ligania*, were turned into heaps of Rubbish. The Church at the *Spanish* Town, was broken to pieces. The Rocks, and High Mountains could not withstand its Force; but they also being touch'd, did smoke: In a moment, they lost all their Verdure, and many cubits of their Stature. Near Two Thousand Persons died; whole Families being swallowed up together. This Loss was in a manner, peculiar to the *Point*; very few comparatively, being slain in other parts of the Island. Some of *New-England* were there left with the destroying Angel: Others were taken into Protection; who, with a grateful Remembrance of God's distinguishing Favour towards them, have given me the substance of this Account. Upon this occasion, the Prodigious Earthquakes of *Lima*, in *Peru*, of *Sicilia*, and *Naples*, might be mentioned: but that the Digression would seem too long. Only it may be noted, that they are all *Spanish*: and that there was but the distance of seven Moneths between this of *Jamaica*, and the most Dreadful EARTHQUAKE of *Sicilia*. For that was sent in *January* following, upon the Lord's day, being New-Years day, according to the *Julian* Account. To return to the *Jews*; There are several Families of them at *New-York*; and *New-England* is seldom wholly without them. Now there are two at *Boston*, viz. Mr. *Joseph Frazon*, and *Samuel Frazon*, his brother, to whom I am beholden for a sight of the *Spanish* Bible. *Joseph Frazon* was sometime Scholar to the learned *Teosuab Da Sylva*, in *London*. They acquaint me, that the *Jews* were formerly very numerous in the *Dutch* Plantations in *Brasil*: their Father and Grandfather did dwell there. *Olinda* was taken by the *Dutch*, Anno 1629. how soon the *Jews* followed them thither, I am not certain. But upon the Surrender of those Places to the

Portugals, they were dispersed. Yet at *Suranam*, and *Curasso*, there are plenty of them still. Probably, these *Jews* will be converted, before any great Numbers of the *Indians*, shall I say, or *Israelites* be brought in. That that ancient Prophecie may be fulfilled, *Zech. 12. 7. The LORD also shall save the tents of Judah* First, *that the glory of the house of David, and the glory of the Inhabitants of Jerusalem do not magnifie themselves against Judah*. To be for some time defrauded and deprived of her Husband, was *Rachels* disgrace and grief; which was renewed and multiplied by Barrenness after her enjoyment of him. *Gen. 30.1. And when Rachel saw that she bore Jacob no children, Rachel envied her sister*. But when the Times of Refreshing by the *New Jerusalem*, shall come, *Joseph* shall take away his Mothers Reproach, and her Children shall be more & mightier than her Sisters. Insomuch that there will be need of the forementioned Expedition, to keep the balance. *Isa. 11. 13. The Envie also of Ephraim shall depart, and the Adversaries of Joseph shall be cut off: Ephraim shall not envie Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim. Isa. 54. 1. Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear: Break forth into singing, and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail with child: for more are the children of the desolate, than the children of the married wife, saith the LORD*. That *America* hath been desolate and unmarried for innumerable Ages, is a most sad and awfull Truth: That she may now receive Jesus Christ as her Husband; will be the desire and Prayer of all that favour the dust of Zion.

Ceteraque Prophetarum Oracula adimpleta] To strive to exclude *America* from having any concernment in *Mat. 24. 14. Luke. 24. 47. & Act. 1. 8*. Or, to go about to prove that these Scriptures had their Accomplishment in the New World, before the *Spanish* Discovery: is to give learned *Bellarmin* the better end of the Staff. *De Romano Pon. lib. 3. cap. 4*. In this Encounter, *Whitaker* himself is nearer a Foil, than Triumph. *An Papa sit Antichristus*, p. 663, 664. Yet the Cardinal mistakes in placing this before the coming of Antichrist: There is no colour for that; no more than there is to imagine that the prevailing Rage of Antichrist, in the *Three Days & Half*, can comprise his Beginning, and total Duration. However, 'tis a ridiculous thing for learned men with their cockle shells to pretend to lade the Ocean dry.

Known unto the Lord are all his Works; and no doubt but He hath spoken of them in his Word; which Word abides for ever. So that what cometh to pass in the New World, must be referred to some Prophesie. And to make *America* to be the whole, and only Object of the *Curses* denounced against *Gog* and *Magog*; and to shut them out from all *Promised Blessings*; is altogether Unscriptural and Unreasonable.

Universum & Solum] A *Quo Warranto* may well be brought against this Charter without any danger of the Imputation of Arbitrary or illegal Proceeding. Both parts may safely be denied.

Universum] Many times the place most given to *Salt*, is very near to that which is most *Fruitful*. All the Children of *Israel* had Light in their Dwellings; when all the rest of *Aegypt* were under the confinement of thick Darkness. How many *barren* Heaths are there in *fruitfull* England; which from Age to Age, do affront and baffle all the Wit and Industry of the Nation! How often hath it Rained this Summer, upon one Town; and not upon another: tho not twenty miles off! In *Hungarie*, and *Greece*, Mosques, and Christian Churches are to be found in the same City. The 18th of the *Revelation* gives us ground to expect, that *Babylon* will not be favoured with the Privileges of Christ's Kingdom: For it shall become *the habitation of Devils, and the hold of every foul Spirit, and a cage of every Unclean and hatefull bird. Alcasar* thinks the Scripture intends *mysticas feras, & mysticas bubones, & inferorum volucres*. p. 765. They that dwell at *Rome* after the pouring out of the Seventh Vial, shall have nothing in them that is good and desirable; neither really, nor in the Opinion of other men: but the various Qualities of them all, shall be cursed, and hatefull. Unless an absolute Desolation be intended in the last verses of that Chapter.

Solum] It is generally concluded from those words, *Come out of her my People*, that a little before the pouring out of the Seventh Vial; a Remnant of the Lamb's Followers shall be found in *Rome*. Why may we not as well hope that God hath reserved Saints in *Mexico*, & other places of *America*? Our being without the certain knowledge of it, is no more than what befell *Elijah*, *Rom.* II. 4. Mr. *Strong*, in his Sermon upon *Ezek.* 47. II. speaks thus, *The Times to which this Prophezie relates, are the Times of the Calling of the Jews*: p. 3.

The Time therefore is to come: do you long for it, and pray for it, &c. p. 5.

Doct. *Some men that live under the purest, and the most powerfull Ordinances; are, in Judgement, given up unto a perpetual Barreneß.* p. 12. According to Mr. *Strong* (who well answers his Name) If the Waters flow only in *Asia, Africa, and Europe*, yet still, *Universum* will come off maimed: If they reach *America* also; the Barrier *Solum* will by them be removed. And it is most certain, that they are running in the New World; and I believe, as certain, that they will never cease to run there: but will rise higher and higher, untill they become a Very Long, and Broad, and Deep RIVER. Because the People that are planted by them, begin to be placed under the Influences of that *New National Covenant*, *Fer.* 31. 31. and *Heb.* 8. 8.

Quicquid vero extra hoc Gentium est (locis nimirum ubi inferorum sedem collocavit Antiquitas) &c.] These *Profane and Old wives Fables* look uglily every where; but especially in a Concern of this Moment; and in so beautifull, and well-born a Work, as Mr. *Mede's* is: And therefore Aversation from them ought to be natural to us; as from some amphibious, serpentine Deformity.

Consule R. Episcopum Armach. Respons. ad Jesuitam, p. 337, 338, 339 &c. margine.] With all my heart! I am glad of this Invitation into the Company of so great a Doctor as *USSHER*: *For extinguishing the imaginary flames of Purgatory, we need not go far to fetch Water.* p. 163. And we need not go further than this venerable Author, to expose this Antick Fancy of *America's* being Hell. "The material Spheres in ancient time were not made movable in their sockets, as they are now, that "they might be set to any Elevation of the Pole: but were fixt to the Elevation of XXXVI degrees; "which was the height of the *Rhodian* Climat. The *Horizon* which divided this Sphere through the "middle, & separated the *visible* part of the World, from the *invisible*, was commonly esteemed the "utmost bound of the Earth: so that whatsoever was under that *Horizon*, was accounted to be under "the Earth. For neither the common people, nor yet some of the learned Doctors of the Church could "be induced to believe that which our daily Navigations find now to be most certain; that there "should be another Southern

Detestatione si quidem Lector, hic opus est non Responsione.

Pag. 336, 337.

Pag. 340.

Hemisphere of the Earth, inhabited by any *Antipodes*. And this “proceeded from no other ground, but the Vulgar opinion, that the Southern Hemisphere of the Earth “was not inhabited by *Living* men, as our Northern is. Insomuch that some of the heathen Atheists, “finding the contrary to be True by the discourse of right Reason; endeavoured to perswade “themselves from thence, that there was no such place as *Hades* at all. *Esse autem hujus inferna Regionis, vastaeque Abyssi Incolas plures, beati Johanni, Apocalypsi docemur.* &c. Hilar. in Psalm. 2 fol. 139. A. It should seem that according to St. *Hilary*, and *Ussher*, Revelation 5. 13. taketh in *America*. For every Creature *Under the Earth*, and such as are in the *Sea*, are brought in saying, *Blessing, Honour, Glory and Power be unto him that sitteth upon the Throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.* This Employment seems to be a Demonstration that God would Create a *New Heaven* in the *New World*. *There is no manner of difference betwixt the lower Hemisphere of the Earth, and that wherein we live.* p. 342. Mr. *Hugh Sanford* in a Learned Treatise *DE DESCENSU* &c. printed at *Amsterdam*, 1611. (which work was carried on and perfected by Mr. *Robert Parker*,* a man of great Learning and Piety) hath spoken much to the same purpose. *Inde locus factus est fabulae, Solem, cum ecritur, ab Oceano surgere: & in Oceani aquis ardentem rotam tringere, cum occidit. Imo non fabulis tantum jactatum istud: sed in historias etjam conjectum, videre licet & ridere.* p. 61. This gave occasion to that Fable of the *Suns* coming up out of the *Sea*, when it riseth: and of plunging the flaming Chariot in the *Ocean*, at *Sun* setting. Yea, we may look and laugh, to see that this should not only be tossed to & fro in *Romances*; but that it should also be stuffed into *histories*. *Qui altiora scrutantur, referunt Inferos ad Sphaerae rationem, inquit Servius: sic ut Antipodes nobis Inferi; nos illis.* lib. 2. pag. 63, 64, 132. Wherefore, I hope our honoured Mother will not account it undutifull or indecent for me to say, The *Inhabitants of Boston* in *Lincoln-Shire* are no less *Inferi* to us than the *Inhabitants of Boston* in *New-England* are to them. Nevertheless, I freely Acknowledge, that as *Christopher Columbus* called the first Land he discovered, St. *SAVIOUR*: So, many Things alleged by Cardinal *Bellarmin* and others, about the *Descent* into *Hell*; are wonderfully suited to the

Father of the
forementioned
Mr. Thomas
Parker.

going of *Christ Jesus* into *America*. *Christus fuit in Inferno Liber, & Liberator aliorum. Non autem vocatur poena si Rex inuisat Carcerem, ut aliquos liberet: sed vocatur Dignatio & Humilitas.* Bellarm. de *Christi Anima*, lib. 4. cap. 16. col. 462. For *Philippi*. 2. 10. and *Zech*. 9. 11 see cap. 10. col. 446. & cap. 11. col. 447. *Isa*. 45. 22, 23, 24, 25. *Rom*. 14. 11. The truth is, there is so much Confusion in the discourses upon this subject, that a man cannot tell when he is in *Heaven*, and when he is in *Hell*. *Tunc enim Paradisum Triumphator ingressus est, cum ad Inferos penetravit:* Philo Carpathiorum Episc. In Cant. 6. apud *USSER*. p. 350. Margin. Some learned Protestants do observe there is no determinat mention made either of *ascending*, or *descending*; and that the words literally interpreted, import no more but this; HE WENT UNTO THE OTHER WORLD. p. 352. Now the *New World*, the Valley of *Baca* was the doleful Receptacle of Ungodly and Christless Men, perfectly exposed to the Craft and Cruelty of Evil Angels. So near an Approach to; so compleat a Resemblance of *Hell*, was not elsewhere to be found in *rerum natura*. *JESUS CHRIST* came hither to Visit this Prison, to Preach to the miserable Prisoners; and, in spite of their sirlly Jaylor, to Say, *Go forth: to them that are in Darkneß, Shew your selves.* *Isaiah*, 49. 9. *Parker de Descensu.* lib. 4. p. 133. If we turn to *Zech*. 9. 11. Mr. *Bulkeley* on the *Gospel-Covenant*, shews that the *Prophesie* belongs to this *Time*, and the words immediately foregoing, demonstrate that it pertaineth to this *Place*, viz. the *New World*. Probably, *Joseph* was here in this *Wilderness Pit*, wherein was no *Water*. However, these *Inhabitants* were exactly in the circumstances of *Joseph*; out of which they could by no means get; being Prisoners there; or *Persons bound*, as the word signifies: which is the *Indian* way of Imprisoning. In this Valley of the shadow of death, under invincible Ignorance, they did live and walk. They had no *Gospel*, no Publication of the Saving Grace of God in *Jesus Christ*; not so much as any *Fame* or rumor of it; which might set the most ready and athletick Industry on work. The *Natives* are also much addicted to *Forts* and *Castles*, as they call them; which are ineffectual to preserve them from *Slaughter*. Our Blessed Saviour *Jesus Christ* offers them a Cure of this *Vanity*, and adviseth them to turn to Him, as to an impregnable

Parker, lib. 3.
pag. 43.

Psal. 110. 6, 7

Bellarmin de
Purgatorio. Lib.
1. Cap. 5.

Strong Hold: and so renders them *Prisoners of Hope*; who till now were shut up in the lowest Dungeon of Darkness and Despair. That which inclines me to understand the Scripture in this Sence, is, The Pit is One individual Pit; whereas the *Jews* of the Old World are in several Pits; *viz. Asia, Africa, and Europe*. And if they should be call'd *One Pit*; yet in this Pit there was *Water*; which some of them have all along drunk of: and the obstinat Refusal of the most, is a dreadful Aggravation of their Sin and Misery. Let us look into one place in the New Testament; that Celebrated place, *Matth. 12. 29. Mark, 3. 27. Or else how can one enter into a strong mans house, and spoil his goods, except he first Binde the strong man, and then he will spoil his House?* Luke, 11. 21, 22. *When a strong man armed keepeth his Palace, his goods are in peace: But when a stronger than he shall come upon him, & overcome him, he taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils.* Parker, *de Descensu &c. lib. 4. p. 105, 6, 7.* After *Austin, de Civitate Dei, lib. 20. cap. 7. col. 1205. C. & cap. 8. col. 1211.* I take this *Conquest and Binding*, to be the same with that mentioned *Revel. 20. 1, 2.* The words are *metaphorical*, borrowed from the manner of Taking, and sacking or plundering of a garrisond House, or City. The word *House*, may be here used; because of all Proprieties, a mans House is the most *Proper*. Every man is a Monarch, and ought to bear Rule in his own House: there he expects to be at Rest and Peace. *Matthew* and *Mark* mention the *Taking*, and *Luke* adds the *Dividing* of the Spoil. So far as we know, Satan the grand and Proud Usurper had all to himself in *America*. Altho the House and Furniture belonged to GOD; yet he was wrongfully got into Possession, and gave out that all was his Own; that he was the god of all this World: and he could by no means be ousted, but by a greater Force. *Negat forti et valido tyranno abrogari posse imperium, donec suis armis spoliatus fuerit: quia nisi alia vis superior opposita fuerit, nunquam sponte cessurus est:* saith Master *Calvin, Harmon. p. 157.* Whereas there was none so much as to move any Question about it; much less to contest it in Law, or contend for it by force of Arms. This Triumph was reserved for the Lord Jesus Christ, who comes to conquer this Tyrant, and spoil his Goods. *Si quidem ipse alligavit fortem, diripuitque Vasa illius, videlicet nos, quibus ad omnia*

Ribera.
Forbes.
Pareus.

mala opera fuerat abusus: fecitque vasa Utilia Domino. Basilius & alij apud Parkerum, p. 106. Christless Men and Women are Satans Goods. And Christ bindes Satan, by Unbinding them. And divides this Spoil to this and the other valiant and faithful Captain, and private Souldier; according to his Sovereign good Pleasure. This Captain General will make thorow Work of it; He will not take this house, and enter into it & take a little Plunder, and then leave it: but He will spoil Satan's *House*, so as for ever to preclude him from returning thether again, to play *Rex*, as he had done before. Let it be remembred, that I go not about to exclude other parts of the World: but to shew that the *Americans* are at this Time, very Emphatically Concerned: *Their Redeemer is Strong, the LORD of Hosts is his Name, He shall thorowly plead their cause, that he may give Rest to the Land, and disquiet the inhabitants of Babylon.* Jeremiah, 50. 34.

Ignie cœlitus perdendas, justo, licet ignoto nobis, iudicio reservatum iri] What a Pity it is, that because the *American* Mulberry trees are not so early in putting forth as some other: therefore they must all presently be condemned to the Fire!^{am} Seeing the *First Resurrection* is near at hand; it were better to wait a little, and see what God will do for them therein. For we are certain that if they have a part given them in the *first Resurrection*, they will not be obnoxious to the mentioned Judgment. *In orbis nostri mediterraneo site]* The situation of *Jerusalem* is not so Central; but that a Voyage may be made from *London*, to *Mexico*, in as little time, as from *London*, to *Jerusalem*. In that respect, If the New World should be made the seat of *New-Jerusalem*; if the City of the Great KING should be set on the Northern side of it: *Englishmen* would meet with no Inconvenience thereby; and they would find this Convenience; that they might visit the Citizens of *New-Jerusalem*, and their Countrymen, all under one. As they go thether, *Barbados* stands advanced three hundred Leagues Eastward, ready to meet them with a Welcom to the New World. And *Jamaica* is posted just in the way, to invite them thether, or to salute them in their passing by, and to pilot them to St. *Juan de Ulva*, if there be occasion. When homeward bound, *Providence* will firstly take care of them; and after that, they will have their Countrymen to friend all along shoar. Solitary *Bermudas* will

Nimrum has
arbores Regiones
illas significare,
que harum
feraces imprimis
sunt. Brightm.
Cant. 4. Fol. 73.

be overjoyd, if they happen to touch there. And if in that Latitude, any Captain shall command, *Helm a-Starboard*, on purpose to visit our *New-English Tirzah*, they will be met with answerable Respect; & mutual Kindness shall render the Congress happy. Yea, if the spending of a Mast, or springing of a Leak, do oblige them to such a Diversion, the Pleasantness of the Effect, in bringing good Company together, shall help to qualifie the bitterness of the Cause. *Ad cuius minimum fines, Regnum Christi portensum iri, testantur Propbetam oracula*] This word *minimum* contains in it the most Light for *America*, of any one in the whole Chapter. The worthy Author seems here to begin to relent. By this means being fairly got without the Invisible walls of the Imperial Prison, and expatiating as far as *Japan*, and the Cape of *Good Hope*, I know nothing should hinder, but that we may from thence take Shipping for the New World. As for *Psalms*, 72. 8. and *Isa.* 49. 6. they are summoned to speak on our side. And there are no less than Six times Three very Credible Witnesses, who have given their *Affidavit*, that the Conversion of *American Indians* is an Accomplishment of those glorious Prophesies. Their Testimony is to be seen at large in their Epistle set before a Book published at *London*, in the Year 1652. entituled, *Strength out of Weakness*. Or a Glorious MANIFESTATION of the further Progress of the GOSPEL AMONGST THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND. &c.

The Epistle is as followeth;

Christian Reader, These ensuing Letters do represent unto thee, and to the Churches, the Outgoings of Christ, as a *Light to the Gentiles*, that the Grace which *brings Salvation*, hath appeared unto them also in the furthest parts of the Earth, for the accomplishment of that ancient and glorious Promise; **I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayst be my salvation to the End of the earth.** *Isa.* 49. 6. &c. We have therefore thought fit to commend this great work of Christ unto the view of all the Saints, under the following Considerations. 1. *Hereby the Kingdom of Christ is enlarged*, and the Promise made unto him, in the Covenant between him and his Father, accomplished, his **Dominion shall be from Sea to Sea, & from the Flood unto the Worlds End.** Therefore his

*Arma diaboli
Gentes erant; fide
autem Gentium
vulneratus, caput
quod habebat,
amisit.* Amb. in
Psal. 118.

design is upon all the Kingdoms of the Earth, that he may take possession of them for Himself. They shall all *become the Kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ*, *Rev.* 11. 15. And the *Kingdom, & Dominion under the whole Heaven*, [44] being so possessed by Christ, shall be *given to the People of the Saints of the most High*, *Dan.* 7. 18, 27 &c. 2. *The glorious Gospel of Christ is hereby Propagated, &c.* 3. *Hereby the Souls of men are rescued out of the snare of the Devil*, in which they were before held captive by him at his will, &c. 4. *Hereby the fullness of the Gentiles draweth near to be accomplished*, that the Calling of the *Jews* may be hastened. &c. The first Conversion of the *Gentiles* in its *fullness* makes way for the coming in of the *Jews*, the *Kings of the East*. &c.

5. *That the LORD hath blessed the labours of our Brethren*, who were driven out from among us. A gracious heart, as he prays *for*, so he cannot but rejoyce *in* the success of other mens labours, as well as his own. So the work which is Gods, may prosper, whoever be the Instrument; 'tis enough to him. &c. 6. *This we hope may be but the First fruits of those great Nations unto Christ*. The Lord doth not usually, *cause to bring forth, and then shut the womb*, *Isaiah*, 66. 9. Let no man despise the day of *small things*: The Lord hath opened a *great door*, which we hope Satan shall never be able anymore to shut. &c.

This we humbly offer unto all those that love the Lord JESUS in sincerity; and remain

Thine in the furtherance of the Gospel,

<i>William Gouge.</i>	<i>Henry Whitfield.</i>
<i>Tho: Goodwin.</i>	<i>Will: Spurstow.</i>
<i>Lazarus Seaman.</i>	<i>William Bridge.</i>
<i>John Owen.</i>	<i>Simeon Ashe.</i>
<i>Edm: Calamy.</i>	<i>Sidrach Simpson.</i>
<i>Joseph Caryl.</i>	<i>William Strong.</i>
<i>Fer: Whittaker.</i>	<i>Philip Nye.</i>
<i>Will: Greenbil.</i>	<i>William Carter.</i>
<i>George Griffith.</i>	<i>Ralph Venning.</i>

In quatuor angulis terre] In the four Quarters of the Earth, Rev. 20. 8. In *Asia, Africa, Europe, America*. East, West, North, and South; saith Mr. Cotton, MSS. p. 33. *Phrasi repetita ex cap. 7. 1. hoc est, universo Christianismo per omnes mundi partes dilatato: Ubique enim grassabitur apostasia; sed magis in Oriente & Occidente, ubi apices erunt imperij, &c. Parens, col. IIII.* To suppose that *America* should not at all be containd in Rev. 7. 1. and that all *America*, and no other part of the World beside, should be expressed by the very same words, Rev. 20. 8. Is to me a perfect Riddle; which I can by no means expound. And it seems *Pareus* never dream'd of any such thing. *Gog et Magog sunt Nationes parentes Turcico imperio*, Brightm. p. 658. *Quorum utrumque in Orbis Americani, Arctici et Antarcticici incolas competere, nemini rei Geographicæ perito, ignotum est*] The whole Empire of *America* being *Europæan*, is a firm and plain Demonstration of its being *accessible*. *Barthol. de las Casas* would fain make us believe that it hath been invaded before now. Dr. *Whitaker* reports that the *Spaniards* killd more than they left alive. *de notis Eccl. p. 505. Carthagena* was Assaulted & Taken by Sir *Francis Drake*, 1585. & this very Summer, 1697. Emptied of vast Treasures, by a *French Fleet*. *Ab Esse ad Posse, valet Consequentia*. As for *New-Spain*, by reason of the Isthmus, *situm ita comparatum habent*; as that they may be more easily attacked on both sides, than *Jerusalem* can. *Europe* excells in Shipping; and the Trade Wind carrieth their Fleets thether. From *China, Japan*, and other parts of *Asia*; a Fleet may invade them, on the side of *Acapulco*. Whereas, if the *Americans* had Ships enough to make up a Fleet, and should send it from *Acapulco* Westward; they have a long Voyage to the *Philippine* Islands; and then they have all the length of *Asia* to sail over still: besides the difficulty and danger of passing the straits and sands of the *Red Sea*. Making no allowance for Opposition by the way, all along the Coast of *Asia*, for Fifteen Hundred Leagues together. *Tamque invidendæ felicitatis Orbem*] If *Acosta*, and our Countryman *Gage*, and Thousands more may be credited; Nature hath not been so sparing towards *America*, as to give her cause to envy her Sisters. And as for the Saving Grace of God; it is Sovereign and Free: and the Promises of it are made to *Persons*, and

Mat. 18. 19, 20.

not to *Places*. Therefore let not the Four Sisters fall out by the way: but let them honour themselves, by accounting it their greatest Beauty and Pleasure, to converse together in Unity; and quietly to wait, till the Mind of Jesus Christ concerning this matter, be more fully discovered: All, and every one, firmly resolving to follow the LAMB whithersoever He shall go, esteeming that Best, and most Pleasant, which He shall please to Determine. For if the condition of the New World be in this respect, *Inferiour*, yet I hope, it will be so *Good*, that the *Better* shall not be envied; but Letters shall really and truly be superscribed, *Inferi Superis Salutem*. If it be *Superiour*, the Envy of *Ephraim* will then naturally depart: *Ephraim* shall not envy *Judab*; and *Judab* shall not vex *Ephraim*.

Si verum sit quod Fullerus noster probare contendit, &c. Vid eum Miscell. sacr. lib. 2 cap. 4. *in fine*] Having met with such obliging Entertainment from Archbishop *USSHER*, I was the more emboldened to go and speak with Learned *Nicholas Fuller*: and if it be gratefull to the Reader; it shall not be burdensom to me, to tell the substance of the Discourse; which was this;

Cum ergo Sacæ seu Scythæ semper numerosissimi fuerint, solique omnium nationum frequentibus migrationibus assueri; plusquam probabile profecto est, ab ipsis primum habitatam fuisse quoque *Indiam Occidentalem*, quam passim *Americam* dicunt, vere ac merito *Columbinam* potius dicerent, a magnanimo Heroe Christophoro Columbo Genuensi primo terrarum illarum investigatore atque inventore plane Divinitus constituto, Nov. Orb. c. 84, & 85. Certa nempe res est, gentes universes ex hac continente quam nos accolimus, in quaslibet Orbis terrarum plagas, tanquam colonias, initio fuisse deductas. Hinc ergo *Columbina* primum incolas acceperit neceese est. Atqui ex omnibus hujus continentis tractibus longe aptissimus est *Japheticus* (quocunque nomine censeatur, *Scythicus, Sarmaticus, Cimbricus* vel *Cimmerius, Celticus* denique *Septentrionalis* iste, quem nos spectamus) ad rem illam perficiendam. Nam sine ulla controversia multo is quidem propior est *Columbinæ*. &c. Quare proculdubio a *Japheti* posteris *Septentrionalium partium* continentis istius incolis habitari primum cœpta est *America*, seu verius *Columbina*. Atque is-

Quum autem inætimabile bonum sit, Christum habere in omnibus negotiis Presidem, qui consilia & eventus benedicat, &c. Calvin, p. 244.

Parker, lib. 2. p. 64.

tis valde conveniunt quæ commemorat Antonius Galvanus, generosæ stirpis Lusitanus (qui diu apud Indos Moluccenses cum potestate fuerat) in ubello quodam suo de novarum terrarum Inventoribus Anglice a Richardo Hackluito nostro recens edito; nimirum Tabencos (ques vocat) seu Chineses vehementer confirmare, sese omnium primos in longinquas Orbis regiones navibus trajecisse; cumque sint totius Tartariæ gens illustrissima, se maxime parti Scythiæ olim fuisse dominatos. Insuper ait, prius credibile videri a chinensibus hisce, Tartarisve aut Scythis Orientalibus reperitam fuisse Columbinam, et incolis repletam. Nam nationes ejus et moribus vivendique ratione & corporis totius filo, videlicet parvis oculis, naribus simis, aliisque proprietariibus, persimiles sunt Chinensibus. Ut ut hoc erat, satis tamen apertum est illud, Americanos, seu Columbinos primos e terra Japhetica, i.e. tractu hoc Septentrionali, in regionem illam longe amplissimam vereque Novum Orbem concessisse, ac sequentibus seculis ulterius etiam vel sua sponte vel pulsos a finitimis fortioribus, superato freto Magellanico, in climata Australi Polo vicina processisse. Nihil enim impediēbat; cum fretum illud mire angustum sit, utpote unius alicubi & perpaucarum alibi Leucarum, teste omni Exceptione majore nobilissimo Navarcho nostro Francisco Draco, primatio ordinis Equestris viro, qui idipsum totum perlustravit. Quamobrem QUANDOQUIDEM ad Europam, Septentrionalemque & Boreum Asiæ tractum Novus Orbis veluti immensæ magnitudinis auctarium accessit, et Japheto posterisque ejus jure hæreditario in perpetuam possessionem obtigit, negari non potest perfecte atque absolute impletam esse propheticam Patriarchæ benedictionem, et Japhetum verissime sic nominatum ut cui dilataverit, h.e. vastissimum planeque stupendæ amplitudinis spatium, duplicis portionis instar, non parce & restricte, sed largissime effusissimeque admensæ, concesserit Deus.

These are the Sentiments of Mr. *Nicolas Fuller* concerning the New World, and them that dwell therein; both as to what is past, and to come. If they do but outlive the springing of this Mine, they are like to be out of danger of any further design this Chapter hath upon them. This learned

Man, agreeable to his great Ingenuity, endeavours to do *Columbus* the Justice, as to eternize his Honour, by engraving his Name upon the World of his Discovery. *It is every where called America: but according to Truth, and Desert, men should rather call it Columbina, from the magnanimous Heroe Christopher Columbus a Genuese, who was manifestly Appointed of GOD to be the Finder out of these Lands.* But why should a learned Man make all this Dirge for *Columbus's* Name! What matter is it how *America* be called? For *Flavio of Malphi* in *Naples* hath, in great measure, applied the Vertues of the Loadstone to the Mariners Compass, *in Vain*; the *Portugals* have found the length of *Africa's* foot, *in Vain*; the *Spaniards* sent out the *Italian Dove*, *in Vain*; *Sir Francis Drake* hath sailed round the World, and made thorow Lights to it, *in Vain*; and *Hakluyt* and *Purchas* have, with endless Labour, acquainted *Englishmen* with these Things, *in Vain*: If after all, we go about to turn the *American Euphrates* into a *Stygian Lake*! The breaking of this One Instrument, spoils us of the long expected, and much desired Comfort of Musick.

Another thing that Mr. *Fuller* drives at, is, he would fain have it believ'd, that *America* was first peopled by the Posterity of our Great Grandfather *JAPHETH*; tho he will not be very strict with us, as to the particular branch of that Wide Family; as the Breadth of his *Parenthesis* shews. Well then! the *Americans* are not *Cham's* children; nor heirs of his Curse: as some have guessed. That Obstacle is removed out of the way of their Conversion. And by this Argument it may be more firmly proved that *Englishmen* shall be *Gog & Magog*: for without controversie, they are originally *Cimbrians*, as *Pontanus* affirms. *Rerum Danic. Hist. lib. 1. p. 12 & lib. 2. p. 58, 80.* Some learned Authors conjecture that they are derived from the very *Sacæ* mentioned by our Author. *Verstegan, p. 14, 20.* And this Opinion finds Favour with *Cambden*, in his excellent *Britannia, p. 129.* "Howbeit, that concept of the best learned *Germans* may seem worthy acceptance, who suppose that "the *Saxons* descended from the *Sacæ*, a most noble Nation, and of much worth in *Asia*, and so "called *Sacosones*, that is, *the Sons of the Sacæ.* Well may *New-England* brook its Names; seeing, as to its Inhabit-

1300.

428.

Cambden, Brit. p. 132.

Vid. *USSER. De Brit. Eccl. primordijs. p. 390-395. Sequitur deinde Anglia Vetus &c.*

ants, it is every way of Kin to *England*. And Mr. Roger *Williams's* Key into the Language of *America*, hath one ward more than ever I was aware of; p. 53.

Boast not proud English, of thy birth and blood:

Thy brother Indian is by birth as good.

Make sure thy second Birth, else thou shalt see

Heaven ope to Indians wilde: but shut to thee.

Act. 17. 26.
Ephes. 2. 3.

As for the confounding of the *Gog* and *Magog* in the *Revelation*, with *Ezekiel's*; the confusion which our Author would have others avoid; he himself seems partly to fall into, in making the *Americans Magogiticæ gentis colonias*: seeing *John* his *Gog* and *Magog* are not brought upon the Stage till a Thousand Years hence. Moreover, if there be anything in being descended of the *Scythians*, to entail the Curse of *Gog* and *Magog*: twill make the Argument more strong, to bring them from *Asia*, and *Europe*: for no body doubts, but that there are of their Offspring in those parts. Not to insist on the Opinion received in *China*, and credited by *Antonius Galvanus*, that the *Americans* are Colonies sent from that Nation: The principal Design of Mr. *Fuller's* whose Discourse appears in the last clause of it, the sence of which is this, *WHEREFORE, forasmuch as unto Europe, and the Northern parts of Asia, there is the Accession of the New World, a surplussage of boundleß Bigneß; and is fallen by right of Inheritance, to Japheth, To Have and to Hold to him and his Heirs for Ever. It cannot be denied, but that the propheticall Blessings of the Patriarch is perfectly and absolutely fulfilled; and that Japheth was more truly so called, as unto whom God would give Enlargement, h. c. grant for a Double Portion a most huge Tract of Land of marvellous Extent, and that not upon a scanty and strict; but upon a most Large and Liberal admeasurement.*

But now the calculation of this Chapter turns all this *Blessing* into a *Curse*; all this *Bread* and *Fish*, into *Stones* and *Serpents*. Who had not rather be without a *Portion*, than have one so ill Condition'd? So then, from Mr. *Fuller's* Design this *Conjecture* doth *toto Cælo errare*; and as, with submission, I conceive, from the Truth it self. If it appear so to do; Mr. *Mede* would have it known, that his Desire is, *Not to have it any longer reckoned to have been spoken, or written by Him.* Epist. Lectori, p. 540. With this Sentence full of so

much Candor, I take leave of the worthy Author, as to this Controversy. But I would not separate Mr. *Nicholas Fuller* from Dr. *Thomas Fuller*, for Names sake. Amongst many of his pleasant and profitable Writings, there is his *Holy State*, the 16th Chapter treating of *Plantations*, hath this passage in the close of it; "I am confident that *America* (tho the "youngest Sister of the four) is now grown marriageable, and daily hopes to get Christ to her "Husband, by the preaching of the Gospel. This makes me attentively to listen after some Protestant "First-fruits, in hope the Harvest will ripen afterwards.

Lift up your heads, O ye Gates [of Columbina] and be ye lift up, ye Everlasting Doors, and the KING of Glory shall come in.

This SCRIPTURE would have made a most desirable & pleasant Conclusion of this small disquisition: but that the Reader may expect to see what Renowned Dr. *Twisse* hath written in compliance with the forementioned *Conjecture*: because every one is not so happy as to be Owner of Mr. *Mede's* Works.

It seems Dr. *Twisse* did at first, keck and strain at our Authors *Millennium*, as to the proper and personal *Resurrection* of the Saints. To facilitate the swallowing of it, Mr. *Mede* sent him his *Conjecture* inclosed in a Letter dated *January, 31. 1637*. "I perceive what it is that most "pincheth you in the Millenarian Prophecy; to wit, that of *Gog* and *Magog*. Wherefore I send you "inclosed herewith, my *Conjecture* thereof &c. This is the first appearance of it, that I remember: and was in manuscript probably, by the care to return it again speedily. But it may make an Inhabitant of *Columbina* rather question the Truth of such a *Millennium*, than confirm him in the belief of it; if it require such Aid. Dr. *Twisse* his Answer to this Letter, bears date the 2d of *March* next following, out of which I have transcribed the Paragraph that chiefly concerns the *Conjecture*, which is as followeth; *NOW, I beseech you let me know what your Opinion is of our English Plantations in the New-World. Heretofore I*

Epist. 41.
p. 975.

have wondered in my thoughts at the Providence of God concerning that World, not discovered till this Old World of ours is almost at an end: and then no footsteps found of the knowledge of the True God; much less of Christ. And then considering our English Plantations of late, and the Opinion of many grave Divines, concerning the Gospel's fleeing Westward: sometimes I have had such thoughts; Why may not that be the Place of NEW JERUSALEM? But you have handsomely and fully cleared me from such odd conceits. But what? I pray, shall our English there degenerate and joyn themselves with Gog and Magog? We have heard lately divers ways, that our people there, have no hope of the Conversion of the Natives. And the very Week after I received your last Letter, I saw a Letter written from New-England, discoursing of an impossibility of subsisting there, and seems to prefer the Confession of God's Truth in any condition here in Old England, rather than run over to enjoy their liberty there; yea and that the Gospel is like to be more dear in New-England, than in Old: and lastly, unless they be exceeding carefull, and God wonderfully mercifull; they are like to lose that life and zeal for God and his Truth, in New-England, which they enjoyed in Old; as whereof they have already wofull experience, and many there feel it to their smart. Epist. 42. p. 979.

The Work of God in carrying the *New English* Colonies over the Great & wide Sea, and Transplanting them in *America*, was a very direct and positive Answer to that Boast of the Papists; *Hereses autem Lutheranorum nunquam transierunt Mare: The Lutheran Heresies did never cross the Seas.* Bellarmin. de Amplitudine Eccl. lib. 4. cap. 7. The Opposition hereby made to the Unexpected Accessions to Antichrist, in the New World; bring to mind a Verse of the late Learned and Laborious President of *Harvard* College, Mr. *Charles Chauncy*,

If Fourty-two stand stedfast in the West,
Then Fourty two is Babel'd in the East.

The Author was so mighty in the Scriptures, so Pious, and such a great Master of Languages; that his Conjecture concerning *Babel* deserves Credit: and with the good leave of his Learned Sons, I take the Verse to be reciprocally True; and will venture to say,

If Fourty two be Babel'd in the East,
Then Fourty-two stands stedfast in the West.

It may be hoped that Christ will be so far from quitting what He hath already got in *New England*; that He will sooner enlarge his Dominion, by bringing on a glorious Reformation in *New Spain*; and so making the New World deserve the significant Name of *Columbina*. Of which Mr. *Thomas Gage* hath given us a good Omen, in his successful Zeal exercised in *Mixco* near *Guatemala*, about the Year 1635. Our Countryman having by long and diligent Search, found out a *Pagan Idol* (a Statue of Wood) in a dark Wilderness Cave; caused it to be privately conveyed to the Church on the Lord's Day, and hid in the Pulpit. Out of *Exod.* 20. 3. He preached against Idolatry and Idols, which have eyes, and see not, &c. Sermon being ended, he set up the black staring Idol upon the Pulpit, in open view; and upbraided him sufficiently with his Nothingness, and inability to speak for, or defend himself: and then orderd him to be hewen in very small pieces, and to be cast into a fire of coals and burned in the midst of the Church, before a great Assembly. The *Indians*, called *Fuentes*, who had worshipped him, were surprised and confounded. The *Spaniards* cried out joyfully, *Victor! Victor!* Others repeated *Gloria a nostro Dios*, Glory to our God. *New Survey* &c. cap. 20. pag. 397. Their lady *mary* not having any better eyes, to see; or ears, to hear; or tongue, to speak, than the course clownish *Indian* Idol had; let *Ovid* be admitted, on her behalf, to say,

Nomine mutato, Causa relata mea est.

First Thoughts are sometimes the best. The Doctor had once very high Thoughts of the Gospels Entrance into *America*, which put him upon saying, Why may not that be the place of *New-Jerusalem*? And it is not altogether inconsiderable, that Mr. *Mede's Clavis* was first printed in the Year, 1627. which was a notable means to revive the Thinking and Speaking of *New Jerusalem*. And this was the Year wherein the Design for planting of the Gospel in *New England*, began to be ripened. For in the Year 1628. the first Town in the *Massachusetts* Bay, was begun by Mr. *John Endecott*,* and was called *SALEM*; which may give occasion to hope, that GOD intendeth to write upon these Churches the Name of *New-Jerusalem*. They shall be near

* This was a singular Honour prepared by God for him. And being chosen Deputy Gov. five times & fifteen times Governour: He very honorably discharged the Trust reposed in him; & put of those Robes, & his Life together; March 15. 1664, 65.

Let Bozinus brag on! Nihil inde profecerunt, nihil promovunt.



of Kin to, and shall much resemble that City of GOD. But what should oblige Dr. *Twisse* to change his minde! It is most certain, that unless Christians be *exceeding carefull*, and GOD *Wonderfully Mercifull*, Religion in *Europe* must instantly Expire. As to *America*, He cannot, without great Reluctancy, give up his *English* Friends there: who differed from Mr. *Mede*, and agreed well with them in the Grounds upon which they went thither. But, as *Epist.* 50. p. 991. The Doctor was so intirely taken up in Vindicating the Grace, Power, and Providence of God, as to their *Intensive* Nature: that, according to his singular Modesty, he fully submitted the Consideration of their *Extensivenesß*, unto Mr. *Mede*, as more studied in *Apocalyptical* Mysteries. That these good Souldiers of Jesus Christ, prepared to endure hardship, should yet be surprised with Temptations; is no wonder. For Satan was here as in his House strongly Fortified, and well Moted in; was abundantly stored with Arms & Ammunition: Here he had his Head-Quarters, his Palaces; his Throne, kept his Court; exercised an Universal, Unlimited, Unquestioned Jurisdiction. Here were none shut up or left; not so much as one little town or single family that held it out. Nay, being in love with Bondage, they take up Arms against their Deliverer; and strive with all their might to continue the Tyrant in quiet Possession. *Innumeri enim sunt laqueis ad illaqueandos homines: imo jam sibi mancipatos, compedibus varijs ita constringit, ut Servitutem cui addicti sunt, potius foveant, quam ad Libertatem ullo modo adspirent.* &c. Calvin, Harmon. in Mat. 12. 29. p. 157. He will not fail therefore to use all his Policy and Power, all his Methods and Stratagems of War against these Recruits, coming over to reinforce the Invasion of his Dominions. Old and experienced Souldiers may be wounded and worsted in particular Encounters; especially in great Expeditions that are New and Unusual. But if they are sensible of their wounds, and complain of the smart of them, by that we know for certain, that they are not slain. As it was once said of *Jerusalem*; so it may be now said of *Babylon*, in the sight and hearing of all their Anti-christian and Pagan Armies; *Tho ye had smitten the whole Army of them that fight against you, and there remained but wounded men among them, yet should they rise up every man*

Epist. 55, 57,
70, 74.

in his tent, & burn this city with fire. Jer. 37. 10. For their Captain is not only Invincible, but Invulnerable; not liable to the least imaginable hurt or bruise. He will rally his Forces again, Neither will He draw them off: but keep the Field; and gain a compleat and decisive Victory: Lest otherwise some should surmise that the strong man was stronger than JESUS. As for their Hopes of Converting the Natives; Mr. *COTTON*'s Sentiments may be seen by a few clauses taken out of his Manuscript of the *Revelation*; Chapter, 6. 12. Doct. 1. *A corrupt & false Religion, tho never so firmly established, universally received, and anciently continued: will come at length to be shaken, and abolished; and all the Professors and maintainers thereof, utterly ashamed and confounded.* R. 2. *From the Right of Christ to Inherit the whole Earth, and all the Nations in it.* Psal. 2. 8, 9. Zech. 14. 9. U. 1. *To expect the certain Ruine of all false Religions; Indian; Turkish, yea, and Popish too.* Rev. 18. 21.

Rev. 12. 7, 8, 9. U. 1. *To teach us to take up the like War against the gods of these Indians. . . . We shall find the War difficult.*

Rev. 15. 8. U. *To teach us, Not to wonder at the backwardness of these Indians to be converted unto our Religion. It is here prophesied, they are not able, nor shall be able to enter till these Plagues are fulfilled.*

2. *Especially, Pray we for the Calling of the Jews. If the casting away of the Jews brought in Asia, and Europe (a great part of both) with some part of Africa: How much more shall their Conversion, which is their Fullness, bring in a greater Harvest of these three Parts of the World, and America besides?*

Mr. *Joseph Caryl*, one of *David*'s Worthies beforementioned, speaks thus, "We have heard of the "First fruits, and Second fruits of *India* in *New England*, unto Christ: AND THESE ARE A FAIR "Assurance of a plentiful Harvest there, in due time. A blessed Foundation is laid; yea, the Building "begins to appear above ground, in the visible Profession, or professed Subjection of many poor "Souls unto the Gospel of Christ. May we not therefore hopefully expect, that the *Top Stone* shall be "set up with a Shout of *GRACE! GRACE!* to it? *Epist.* to a further Account of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the *Indians* in *New England*, printed Anno 1660.

Mr. *Richard Mather*, part of whose Character is, *strenuus Veritatis Assertor*, being present when many *Indians* made their Confessions; hath given his Testimony concerning them, in such words as these; “The admitting them into any Churches of the *English* (for ought I know) might speedily be “done, and with much satisfaction, &c. Tho they be not combined into Church-Estate, there is so “much of God’s Work amongst them; as that I cannot but account it a great Evil; yea, a great Injury “to God and his Goodness; for any to make light, or nothing of it. &c. Their whole Carriage, with “plenty of Tears trickling down the cheeks of some of them, did argue to us, that they spake with “much good Affection, and holy Fear of God: and it much affected our hearts. &c.

The Epistle begins thus; “THE Amplitude, and large Extent of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ upon “Earth, when *the Heathen shall be his Inheritance, and the Uttermost parts of the Earth his* “Possession, &c. is a thing plainly and plentifully foretold, & promised in the Holy Scriptures; *Psal.* “2. 8. & 22. 27. & 72. 11. & 86. 9. *Dan.* 2. 35, 44, 45. & 7. 26, 27. *Zech.* 14. 9. &c. And to say no “more, the Lord’s marvellous Sovereignty and Liberty is to be observed, who till now of late, hath “seen meet never to look after this People: but hath suffered them all this while to walk in their own “ways; ways of Sin, and ways of Death. Yea, and tho there have been Plantations of the *English* in “the Country now 20. Years, and more; yea, some a matter of. Years, or thereabout: Yet of all this “time (except some little workings in a few) no considerable work of Grace hath appeared amongst “the *Indians*, till now of late. So true is that Saying; *The Times and Seasons, the Father hath put* “them in his Own Power. Act. 1. 7. &c. This noble Epistle was dated at *Dorchester*, in *New England*; *December, 13th 1652*. Thus we see, these grave and great Divines did not despair of; but believe the Conversion of the Natives. And they lived to see the Dawning of that Joyfull Day. A Letter written by the honourable *John Endicott* Esq; then Governour, hath these passages in it; I esteem it not the least of God’s Mercies that hath stirred up the hearts of any of the people of God to be instrumental in the enlarging of the Kingdom of his dear Son, here amongst the heathen *Indians*: which was one End

of our coming hither; and it is not frustrated. It was prophesied of old, and now begins to be accomplished, *Psal.* 2. 8. The Foundation is laid; and such a one, that I verily believe, the gates of Hell shall never prevail against. &c. *Boston*; 8r 27. 1651. Take also the Testimony of holy Mr. *William Leverich* of *Sandwich*, who took much pains to espouse the *Indians* to Christ; not without good success.

Mr. *John Oxenbridge*, the late worthy Pastor of the first Church of Christ in *Boston*, while he dwelled at *Suranam*, was by the Father of Spirits strongly pressed in his own Spirit, to open his mouth for the *Dumb*, which cannot speak for themselves, tho they greatly need it. Whereupon, with very pious Affection, and much diligent Reading He compiled a notable Treatise of a 254 Pages in *Quarto*, entituled,

A Plea for the Dumb Indian.

The Text is *Rom.* 15. 20, 21. *Yea, so have I strived to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man’s foundation: but as it is written,* To whom he was not spoken of, they shall see. and they that have not heard, shall understand.* Many other Places are alleged to prove the *Americans* Interest in the Promises. I shall mention a few, which are by others improved to the same purpose; as hoping that a cord of so many wreaths will not easily be broken. The Books of *Moses*, and the historical part of the Old Testament do speak of, and promise this Gospelling of the Heathen; *Indians* as well as others. *Gen.* 9. 27. *GOD shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem** p. 16. *Psal.* 2. 8. & 48. 2, 10. & 72. 8, 9, 10, 11, 17, 19. & 82. 8. & 113. 3, 4. *Isa.* 2. 2, 3, 4. *All nations shall flow unto it.* If GOD so widens his Promise: who may dare so to narrow it, as to exclude the *Indians*? The Lord forbid that any who have already tasted how good he is to themselves, that were Unworthy before, and Unthankfull after: the Lord I say, forbid that any such should lodge, or admit so Uncharitable a thought in their hearts! What? to cut off, and that for ever, so great a part of Mankind from the Blessing of the Gospel! *Where there is neither Greek, nor Jew, Barbarian, Scythian.* *Colos.* 3. 11. Mr. *Oxenbridge* thinks that the Ten Tribes may be in *America*; and that the opinion of its being peopled by *Carthaginians*, is a clear Mistake. The 2d Chapter of the 2d

* *Isa.* 52. 15.

* *If the aboriginal Natives in America are descended of SHEM; the European Plantations are a Fulfillment of this Prophecie.*

Part contains Motives to Gospellize the Heathen, such as the *Indians* are. The First Motive is the *Command of GOD*, whose we are, and whom we profess to serve. This *Command* is either plainly expressed: or closely implied in the Promises. An express Command is to be seen in *Mark*, 16. 15. *Go ye into all the World, and preach the Gospel to every Creature. Mat.* 28. 19, 20. *It is necessary the Fullness of the Gentiles should come in: and doth Faith come upon any by Chance? Why should bounds be set to the word of Faith, so long as Infidelity remains? With what Confidence, what Conscience do we not offer Christ to them that have him not? Do we detain the Word of God in Unrighteousness?* Bernard. lib. 3. cap. 1. De Consid.

Another Motive offers it self from the *Coming of our dear LORD*; which, if real Christians, we do desire: but if intelligent ones, will not expect (because we cannot obtain) till the *Indians* be Gospellized. *Mat.* 24. 14. *And this Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in All the World, for a witness unto All Nations, and then shall the End come.* I need not again rescue this Text to the sence that favours the *Indians* Gospelling: but rather employ it in this Service. Christians, Would you not gladly have Christ come? Do you not long for such a Day of his *Presence*, as will never be obscured by a Night of *Absence* or *Withdrawing*? Do you not look out sharp for Him, to end the Violences and Abuses of the sons of Wickedness? To dispatch this Vain and Vexatious world? What say you? Do you so love Christ as to say with the Bride; by the same Spirit, *Come Lord Jesus! Come quickly!* Are you in good earnest that hear this? Desire then, Pray and Labour that the Gospel may be preached in all the World; in this *Indian* End of it. For till then, Christ himself tells you, He will not, He cannot come. The Door is, as it were, shut against Him. How do you desire Him to come in, and yet ly drowsing and turning on your Bed, as a Door upon the hinge? You are trying near hand, how you can shift for your *Selves*, and so in effect, shift off *CHRIST*, who is all this while kept without door. For Love, or Shame, Get Up! and Open the Door! *2 Peter*, 3. 12. *Looking for and basting unto the coming of the day of God.* Sit not then still: but as we use to do with desirable and welcom Guests, go out to meet Him, and bring Him in. What is done or prepared by Papists among *Indians*, is not to be despised; but improved by Protestants. There my

be some sincere Labourers and Converts among them. For *Urbanus Calveto* tells me of a *Spanish* Bishop of *Mexico* converted to the Truth. I cannot but think well of *Betanzus* of *Guatemala*. Nor may I deem otherwise of *Did. Lopez*. His Letter hath a Christian savour in it. Yea, *Gage* confesseth that he had known some of sober Conversation, that had listed themselves for the *Indian* Missions. And *Acosta* saith there are Men of God; they are scarce indeed. But I may not pass by *Joseph Acosta* himself, whom I am inclined to judge a serious Man for the Conversion of the *Indians*. In this Work he spent 17. Years: and when he departed from them, he was followed with Tears and Cries. I cannot but esteem him for his pressing and maintaining so heartily the Preaching of Christ to be the principal Thing. And he accounts it Ridiculous, for the *Indians* to say their Prayers they understand not a word of. He makes Explicit Faith necessary; and faith it is not enough for vulgar people to profess that they hold what the Church believes. He saith that Prayer is most needfull in this Business: because it is all of God and his Grace; and not of Merits. Moreover, it was said by *Hilary* and *Jerom*, that the hearts of the Hearers may be more holy than the lips of the Priests.

By means of the *Spaniard*, the *Indians* have a School in every Town for Reading and Writing: and Officers of their own to do Justice; except in matters of Life. I conceive Hope and Joy, when I read what catachetical Doctrine was by a Synod at *Lima* appointed to be taught an *Indian* that would become a Christian; He must believe in One God; Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: and that this God is Maker of All; and giveth eternal Glory to the good, and Torment to the Wicked. None is freed from Evil, but by Jesus Christ made Man, and suffering for Man: and that He is our LORD and Redeemer, and Only Hope; and Reigneth in Heaven. In Baptisme a man is made [professedly] his Servant. If an *Indian* believe these Things, and Repent of his past life, and now will live according to the Command of God: he may be accepted for a Christian.

Let Protestants now, for shame, arise, and shew that they have some breathings of a true Apostolical Spirit in them. I conclude with that of the Prophet: *Drop down, ye Heavens, from above, and let the Skies pour down Righteousness.* Isa. 45. 8.

Benzo, p. 174,
256, 85.

Page 8.

417.

429.

358.

406.

Pareus, Mat.
23. 3.

Gage, 146.

Acosta, 467.

1607.
1610.

The 189th Page shews the Nobility of *Virginia*'s Original. Most of the Adventurers were of such Quality, as not to be likely to design their own Profit. In their 53^d Order it is Appointed, that they shall (according to the first Institution and Profession of this Company) Advise and devise to the utmost of their Power, the best Means for reclaiming the barbarous Natives, and bringing them to the true Worship of God, Civility of Life, and Virtue. I knew one who under the name of dust and ashes, gave 500*l.* in Gold, for the breeding of *Indian* Children in true Religion; and then in Trades that they might live honestly. And a zealous Minister made a considerable Collection in the *East-India* Fleet, for the same End. Mr. *Nicolas Farrar* gave 300*l.* towards a College; to be paid when Ten *Indian* Children should be placed in it: and in the mean time, 24*l.* per annum, to three discreet godly Men in the Colony; which should honestly bring up three *Indian* Children, in Christian Religion, and some good Course to live by. And the Company of *Virginia* did yearly appoint a Committee to take into their care the matter of the College to be erected in *Virginia*, for the Conversion of Infidels. To these Offerers, we may well add those that offered themselves. Mr. *Glover* that wanted no Employment; yet would go with Sir *Thomas Dale*: When also went Mr. *Alexander Whitaker* (Son to that famous Professor in *Cambridge*) being well settled in *England*, on a Living and Means of his own; yet had his heart stirred up to preach the Gospel in *Virginia*: so that no diswasion nor discouragement could withdraw him for the Voyage.

The 10th Chapter p. 220. argueth for the planting of Colonies truly Christian, in *America*; for the Vindication of the Honor of God and Christian Religion horribly and unmatchably scandalized by the barbarous Cruelties of the *Spaniards*. *The Land was as the Garden of Eden, or Paradise, before them; and behind them a desolate Wilderneß.* They have fullfilled, and surpassed the Mischievousness of old *Babylon*, in making the *World* [the *Habitable* or *Fertile* World; as *Gataker* there] *as a Wilderneß, and destroying the Cities thereof. Now the Good Lord by his Good Spirit lift up a Standard against the Cruel Enemy of Christ and Mankind; that such Enemies may be scattered. And let the Lord lift up*

Gabr. Barber.

Patr. Copland.

Joel, 2. 3.

Isa. 14. 17.

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his Hand; declare his Power to the Gentiles, that they may be gathered to, and by the Standard of the Gospel. And I would bleß them in the Name of the Lord, that with true hearts shall go forth to either part of this Work. Isa. 59. 19. & 49. 22. *Regionem Venturium.* Parker, l. 2. p. 15. *Psal.* 24. 1 & 50. 12.

The fervent Zeal of this learned and holy Man, would provoke a very Stone to speak: and therefore I hope the Christian Reader will lend a favourable Ear to my short Antiphony; What hath *Old anti-Christ* to do in the *New World!* By their own Confession, their Ch. is an *Old Woman*, past Child bearing. *Nam Ecclesia omnium consensu, etjam hereticorum, jam senuit; si ergo in sua adolescentia ac juventute non crevisset, quomodo nunc in senectute cresceret?* Bellarmin. de not. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 7. col. 175. & 176. D. One of this Mark may indeed be the Pope's *Whore*: but the *Spouse of CHRIST*, she cannot be. For it is altogether impossible that the *LAMB's* Wife should ever wax Old, and become Unfruitfull. *Her Youth is renewed as the Eagles.* It is most certain that the True Church will be Ten times more Vigorous and Fruitfull than ever before. In this Instance, *Bellarmin's* Fiddle is miserably out of Tune, if compared with *David's* Harp; *Ps.* 45. 16. *In stead of thy Fathers shall be thy Children.* & 113. 9. *He maketh the barren woman to keep house; to be a joyfull Mother of Children: praise ye the LORD.* Compare this with the Wedding mentioned *Rev.* 19. 1. 7. Where likewise the burden of the Son is *Allelujab:* and *Rev.* 21. 5. *Behold, I make all things NEW;* and we shall perceive a perfect ravishing *Diapason.*

As for the *Dearneß* of the Gospel in *New-England*; being *Fore warn'd* we ought to be *Fore arm'd*, that we may not be outbid. Truth is a Kind of Gold that cannot be bought too dear. *Truth is such a Commodity as never broke the Buyer whatever it cost him.* Caryl on Job, 12. 16. My honoured Pastor, the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Willard*, a person eminent for Soundness of Judgement, and Clearness of Expression; lately preached and printed some excellent Sermons, the Text & Title whereof is *Buy the Truth, and Sell it not.* In the 48, 49. 68, 69. pages there are Lines very proper for the *New-English* Planters: as also in the 117, 118, and 125. pages of *Covenant Keeping the way to Blessedneß.* May they accordingly, *Obtain Mercy, and finde Grace to help in time of Need!*

Sed nos nullam Ecclesie senectutem agnoscimus quemadmodum nec Dei. Whitaker, p. 504. *Let them seek their hereticks where they can find them.*

If we consult the memorable Epistle of Mr. *Shepard* of *Cambridge*, and Mr. *Allin* of *Dedham*, before their Answer to the *Nine Positions*; Or, if we inquire of the Learned and Judicious Mr. *Jonathan Mitchel*, and Mr. *Urian Oakes*;* we shall finde, they reckoned that the Planters had a good Bargain. And this Amiable Quaternion were all born in *England*; but chose to have their Graves here at our *Cambridge*, and *Dedham*.

[*An impossibility of subsisting there*] As this seems to be all; so this is Argument enough, if it can be made out. Miraculous *Samson* could not withstand Thirst; nor Prodigious *Jonathan*, Hunger. Upon the Resettlement of *Virginia* by the Lord *la Ware*, *June*, 9. 1610. there is this remark; *This was the Arm of the Lord of Hosts, who would have his People pass the Red Sea & Wilderneß; and then to possess the Land of Canaan*. Altho there were not Ten to One, yet there were Ten to Two of those who went to search the Land of *Canaan*, who reported *A Land that eateth up the Inhabitants thereof*. Num. 13. 32. And some pious honest man, being surrounded with Difficulties at his first coming hither; might Unadvisedly write a discouraging Letter: Unto which, his never Returning to *England*, and the flourishing circumstances of his Grandson at this day in *New-England*, are a very desirable and pleasant Contradiction. Capt. *John Smith* in his History published *Anno* 1624. affirms that he found *New-England* well inhabited with a goodly, strong, and well proportioned People. And the Proverb is, *Shew me the Man, and not the Meat*. And if men can be contented with the Food and Raiment intended in 1 *Tim.* 6. 8. they need not fear subsisting where *Asb*, *Chesnut*, *Hazel*, *Oak* & *Walnut* do naturally and plentifully grow. But for this, let Mr. *Morden* be consulted, to whom *N. E.* is beholden for the fair Character given them in his Geographie. It is remarkable, that Mr. *Parker*, who was a successfull Schoolmaster at *Newbury* in *Barkshire*, in the happy days of Dr. *Twisse*, was much about this time preaching and Proving at *Ipswich* in *Essex*, That the Passengers came over upon good Grounds, and that GOD would multiply them as He did the Children of *Israel*. His Text was *Exod.* 1. 7. As Mr. *Nicolas Noyes* who was an Auditor, and is yet living, lately informed me. Mr. *Parker* was at this time; 1634. principally concerned in beginning

* *Election Sermon*, p. 17-21.

Attend we our Errand upon which Christ sent us into the Wilderness, & He will provide Bread for us. Mr. Danforth *Elect. Sermon*, pag. 22.

P. 107.

P. 209, 215.

P. 607-611.

Newbury, where the Learned and Ingenious Mr. *Benjamin Woodbridge*, Dr. *Twisse*'s Successor, had part of his Education under his Uncle *Parker*. *Mary Brown* [now *Godfry*.] the First-born of *Newbury*, is yet alive; and is become the Mother and Grandmother of many children. And so many have been born after her in the Town, that they make two Assemblies, wherein GOD is solemnly worshipped every Sabbath Day. And

As long as *Plum-Island* shall faithfully keep the commanded Post; Notwithstanding all the hectoring Words, and hard Blows of the proud and boisterous Ocean; As long as any Salmon, or Sturgeon shall swim in the streams of *Merrimack*, or any Perch, or Pickeril, in *Crane Pond*; As long as the Sea-Fowl shall know the Time of their coming, and not neglect seasonably to visit the Places of their Acquaintance; As long as any Cattel shall be fed with the Grass growing in the Medows, which do humbly bow down themselves before *Turkie-Hill*; As long as any Sheep shall walk upon *Old-Town Hills*, and shall from thence pleasantly look down upon the River *Parker*, and the fruitfull *Marishes* lying beneath; As long as any free and harmless Doves shall find a White Oak, or other Trees within the Township, to perch, or feed, or build a careless Nest upon; and shall voluntarily present themselves to perform the office of Gleaners after Barley Harvest; As long a Nature shall not grow Old and dote; but shall constantly remember to give the rows of Indian Corn their education, by Pairs: So long shall Christians be born there; and being first made meet, shall from thence be Translated, to be made partakers of the Inheritance of the Saints in Light. Now, seeing the Inhabitants of *Newbury*, and of *New England*, upon the due Observance of their Tenure, may expect that their Rich and Gracious LORD will continue and confirm them in the Possession of these invaluable Privileges: *Let us have Grace, whereby we may serve GOD acceptably with Reverence and godly Fear. For our GOD is a consuming Fire.* Heb. 12. 28, 29.

The mention of *Mary Brown* brings to mind an idle Whimsey, as if Persons born in *N.E.* would be short liv'd. Whereas the Natives live long. And a Judgment concerning *English-men* cannot well be made till Twenty or Thirty years hence. Capt. *Peregrine White* born *Novemb.* 1620. Is

Besides all that have issued out to begin new Plantations.

yet alive, and like to live. Major *William Bradford* (whose honorable Father Governour *Bradford* married here) is more than 73. years old, and hath worn a Bullet in his Flesh above 20 of them. *Elizabeth Alden** (now *Paybody*) Capt. *John Alden* her brother, *Alexander Standish*, and *John Howland* have lived more than Seventy years.

*Whose Grand-daughter is a Mother.

His Uncle the Reverend Mr. James Noyes was a painfull Labourer in God's Vineyard at Newbury.

This Summer, Ensign *James Noyes* hath happily discovered a Body of Marble at *Newbury*, within half a mile of the Navigable part of *Little River*; by which means much better Lime may be made, than of Oyster shells or *West-India* Lime-stones; and afforded at a much cheaper rate. This Summer a Contribution hath been made at *Rode Island* and *Narraganset*; but firstly and principally at *Connecticut*, by a Brief from the honorable the Governour & Council there: By the continuance of which brotherly Love, many Hundreds in this Province, almost quite slain with Hunger, have been rescued and revived. It is observable that by far the greatest part of our Divines have received their Birth and Education here: Who by solidity of Learning, soundness of Doctrine, and Integrity of Life, do give much honour to their Lord and Master. And as Dr. *Twisse's VIN-DICLÆ* came out *Anno* 1632. quickly after the Settlement of *New England*, which was in the Years 1620, 1628, 1630. So that Faith which the Doctor did Earnestly and Victoriously contend for; is no where more Unanimously, Skillfully, and Resolutely defended than here. As a Memorial for the Plantations of *JESUS CHRIST* in *New England*, a worthy Divine, whose honorable Parents were born here, is erecting a Testimonial Pillar more ornamental and durable than polished Marble. And this very Year, notwithstanding the Blast, the Worm, the Frost, the Drought, the War: The Inhabitants of *Fairfield*, *Newton*, *Rowley*, and *Excester*, have been at the Charge to build themselves very fair and large Meeting Houses for the publick Worship of GOD. I would fain hope, that the End of the Lord with *New England*, will be such as was with *Job*: Because the Language of this Thing seemeth to be, *Tho He slay us, yet will we Trust in HIM*. October, 7. 1697.

Holy Shepard hath his Wish. *Elect. Sermon*, pag. 16.

Chap. 13. 15.

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modation of modern readers, the long s – for ſ – has not been used; and
to aid in the more accurate searching of the text, the available ligatures
have also not been employed, with the exception of the italic double-s
character –ß– which is used throughout the 1697 text. Adapta-
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